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LECHFORD'S PLAIN DEALING ;

OR,

News from New England.



PLAIN DEALING

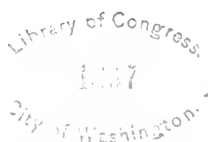
OR

BY

THOMAS LECHFORD

BY

J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL



J. K. WIGGIN & WM. PARSONS LUNT

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TO

GEORGE BRINLEY, ESQ.,

OF HARTFORD,

A SUCCESSFUL COLLECTOR AND A CAREFUL READER OF ALL THAT ILLUSTRATES
THE EARLY HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND,

WHATEVER THERE MAY BE OF VALUE IN

This Edition of "Plain Dealing,"

THE PREPARATION OF WHICH WAS UNDERTAKEN ON HIS SUGGESTION,

IS,

IN SLIGHT ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF MANY OBLIGATIONS,

DEDICATED

BY HIS FRIEND,

THE EDITOR.





INTRODUCTION

BY THE EDITOR.

IN the year 1858, the late Samuel Jennison, Esq., of Worcester, — for many years an officer of the American Antiquarian Society, and well known as a diligent and successful student of the history of New England, — invited me to examine a manuscript volume of which he had become the possessor. Of this volume, its authorship and contents, Mr. Jennison wrote the following account : —

“ It is now some time since a friend, knowing that I had some curiosity in relation to matters of antiquity, and thinking I might find something to gratify it in a small folio, in manuscript, in broken but venerable binding, which was then in his possession, placed the same in my hands. He did not know the writer or the contents ; for the style of penmanship was that of more than two centuries ago, and although not unusually indistinct for its kind, could not easily be read by one unaccustomed to the chirography of the time. It proved, on inspection, to be a journal-book kept by THOMAS LECHFORD, whose claim to the reputation of having been the *first Boston lawyer* is, I believe, unquestioned. It contains a record of the business transactions in which he was, from day to day, engaged, commencing with his settlement in Boston, and continued until his return to England ; embracing many facts of historical and genealogical interest. I have awaited a season of leisure and relief from other occupations to transcribe and prepare it for publication.”

It is much to be regretted that the work of transcription and preparation, commenced by Mr. Jennison, was laid aside before being completed, and the public thereby deprived of the valuable

illustration such a volume must have received in the hands of so competent an editor.

In this Journal, Lechford had made numerous entries in short-hand, some of which are of considerable length, and one occupies an entire page. It was for the purpose of asking assistance in deciphering these, that Mr. Jennison first submitted the volume to my inspection. I recognized the characters employed, as belonging to a system with which I had previously become tolerably familiar, and promised to furnish the desired translations whenever I could find leisure for the work. Mr. Jennison died (March 11, 1860) before this promise could be redeemed. Until the spring of 1865, I found it impossible to devote the time requisite for the study of the cipher, and for a more thorough examination of the volume. On application to Samuel Jennison, Esq., of Boston, into whose possession the manuscript had come by the decease of his father, he not only most obligingly consented to intrust it to my hands for so long a time as should be necessary for deciphering the short-hand, but subsequently, with a liberality for which I am glad to have this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations, authorized me to publish, in a limited edition, the entire manuscript, and materially lightened the labor of preparation by permitting me to make use of an abstract of the volume and an index, which his father had made.

The first instalment of this publication was nearly ready for the printer when Lechford's *Plain Dealing* was announced for re-impression in the "Library of New-England History." I consented to become the editor of this volume, because it seemed desirable that it should receive the benefit of whatever new material the author's journal and manuscript letters might supply for its illustration, and because much of this material might be more advantageously employed in notes to *Plain Dealing* than in a separate publication. Meanwhile, the preparation of the Journal for the press has been suspended. But the work is already resumed, and a volume will shortly be published com-

prising Lechford's entries of business transactions, copies or abstracts of instruments drawn by him, and letters to his correspondents in New and Old England, between June 27, 1638, and Dec. 31, 1639. For that volume, the ensuing sketch of the little that is known of Lechford's personal history, and estimate of the man and his book, was originally prepared. The prior announcement of *Plain Dealing*, by the publishers, and its necessary precedence in the series, have compelled me to employ the same materials, in almost the same form, by way of introduction to two separate but nearly connected publications.

Of the birth and parentage of Thomas Lechford, or of his early life, I have no certain knowledge. His surname is that of a family, which, at about the middle of the sixteenth century, became seated at Leigh, near Reigate, in the county of Surrey, where Henry Lechford, great-grandson of a Thomas Lechford who lived in the reign of Edward IV. (1461-1482), bought the manors of Shellwood and Charlwood, with other estates. This Henry, dying, Sept. 27, 1567, left a son Richard, born in 1547, who was knighted. Sir Richard Lechford was twice married; first, to Ann, daughter of George Lusher, by whom he had two sons, John and *Thomas*; and, secondly, to Eleanor, daughter of William Morgan, of Chilworth, Esq. Henry, a son of the second marriage, died in 1606, before his father, but left a son Richard (born, about December, 1594), who inherited the estates of his grandfather on the death of the latter, July 10, 1611. John and Thomas, above named, sons of Sir Richard by his first wife, were living in 1606, when they are named in a deed of settlement by their father on his second wife and her children.* Their nephew, Richard Lechford, was knighted by James I. Early in the reign of Charles I., he was enrolled in the band of "Gentlemen Pensioners," who constituted the king's body-guard. Like many other courtiers of his day, he became a Roman Catholic, and found his new religion no bar to royal favor, notwithstanding the

* Manning and Bray's *History of Surrey*, ii. 181, 184-5, 188.

unabated severity of the Laws against "popish recusants." His eldest daughter, Letitia ("alias Bridget," as she is named in the record), remained a Protestant, and, about 1633, was confirmed in the Church of England, to the great displeasure of her father.* Not long afterwards, while Sir Richard was in attendance upon the king in his journey to Scotland, this daughter Letitia and a younger sister Mary, who had been placed under the care of an aunt living near London, were detained by warrant from the High Commission when about to sail from England for some foreign port. Their father alleged that they had embarked without his knowledge, and were attempting to escape from his authority; but another and more probable version of the story is given by a well-informed writer (the Rev. George Gerrard, the gossiping London correspondent of the Earl of Strafford), in a letter dated May 1, 1634: † —

"Sir Richard Lashford,‡ a pensioner in ordinary, was sending two of his daughters to the nunneries beyond the seas; being to take shipping in some of the Kentish ports, they were stopp'd and sent back to London. My Lord's Grace of Canterbury [Laud] being made acquainted with it, sent for the father, who offered to give caution that they should not go out of England; but my Lord asked him, whether he would engage himself that they should conform themselves to the religion of the Church of England, which he refused. He asked then of him, of what religion he was? He said, A Romish Catholick, and but lately converted. He offered him both the Oaths, which peremptorily he refused. The Archbishop then told him, he was not a fit servant to be of the King's principal Guard, that would not take the oath of allegiance unto his Majesty. Since he hath been brought before the Lords, absolutely put out of his place, and another sworn into it."

* *Calendar of Brit. State Papers* (Domest. Ser., Charles I.), 1633-4, pp. 23, 536, 348, 581.

† Strafford's *Letters and Dispat.*, i. 242.

‡ So the name appears to have been generally pronounced, and was occasion-

ally written. Evelyn (*Diary*, ii. 56, Bohn's edit.) mentions, under date of Sept. 13, 1670, going "to visit Sir Richard Lashford, [his] kinsman." Elsewhere, we find the same name written *Leecheforde*. See note (†) on the next page.

A few weeks afterwards, the same correspondent wrote : *—

“The Penfioner, Sir Richard Lashford, was again called before the Lords, when the oath of allegiance was again offered to him, but he utterly refused it. So order was given to the Attorney to indite him in the King’s Bench of a *Premunire*; but being brought thither, he took it before the Judges, which if he had done before, ’tis likely he had not been put from his Penfioner’s place.”

In other words, the influence of the court upon the judges, or a “letter of grace and protection,” such as the king, about this time, was accustomed to grant to his courtiers who were papists, would have stayed proceedings against him for recusancy.

In November, 1634, Sir Richard sold the manor of Shellwood, and other estates in Surrey, and subsequently resided at or near Dorking (in the same county), where he died, Sept. 14, 1671.†

The recurrence of the name of *Thomas* in several generations of the Lechfords of Shellwood; the fact that the surname was by no means common, and does not appear to have been represented in England by any other family than this, of the rank of gentry; with other considerations which it is unnecessary to mention here,—render it highly probable, in fact nearly certain, that the author of *Plain Dealing* was of this stock, and nearly related to the last-mentioned Sir Richard Lechford, Knt., 1634.

In the address “To the Reader,” Thomas Lechford describes himself as “a student or practiser at law.” An entry in his journal shows that he had been a member of Clement’s Inn *before* he came to New England; and he resumed his residence there after his return to London, in 1641, as the title-page of *Plain Dealing* informs us. In an order of the General Court of Massachusetts,

* *Strafford’s Letters and Dispatches*, i. 261.

† *Manning & Bray*, i. 586. The arms confirmed to “Sir Richard Leechforde of Shelwood,” Nov. 22, 1605, by W. Segar, Garter, are thus blazoned: *Sable*, a

chevron betw. three leopards’ heads, *argent*. Crest, on a wreath of the same colors, a unicorn’s head erased, *argent*, maned, bearded, and horned *or*, bearing on the same a serpent proper. *Howard’s Miscel. Geneal. et Herald.* (Oct. 1866), p. 54.

made in 1647, he is described as "an ordinary *solicitor* in England." * It does not appear that he was ever called to the bar. The Inns of Chancery, of which Clement's was one, were so called "probably because they were appropriated to such clerks as chiefly studied the *forming of writs*, which was the province of the cursitors, who are officers of chancery, and such as belong to the courts of common pleas and king's bench." † In Stowe's time, they were "chiefly filled with attorneys, solicitors, and clerks." By an order of the judges, April 15, 1630, "attorneys and solicitors, which are but ministerial persons of an inferior nature," though permitted to occupy chambers in the inns of chancery, were excluded from the inns of court, and consequently from a call to the bar. ‡ In his defence before the court of magistrates at Boston, in December, 1640, § Lechford said of himself: "I am no pleader, by nature; oratory I have little, . . . and if I had never so expert a faculty that way, I should not now use it, . . . and as for the other part of pleading which consisteth in *chirography*, || *whercin I had some little skill*, I do not desire to use any of that," &c.

When Hugh Peters was lecturer in St. Sepulchre, in London, —before the persecution of Laud drove him to Rotterdam, in 1629 or 1630,—Lechford was one of his hearers, and "hung upon his ministry," as he expresses it in a letter to Peters, written in 1639. ¶ Some years later, he was in Ireland, with Sir Thomas Wentworth (afterwards Earl of Strafford), then lord deputy. In what capacity he went, or how long he remained

* *Mass. Col. Records*, ii. 206.

† Herbert's *Inns of Court and Chancery*, 169.

‡ Dugdale's *Origines Judicales*, 320.

§ See after, page xxxiii.; and note 256, on page 157 of this volume.

|| This word appears to be used here in its more modern sense, for the business of a draughtsman and scrivener. In the

old law, a chirographer signified "him in the Common Pleas office (*in Communi Banco*) that ingrosseth Fines in that Court acknowledged . . . and that writeth and delivereth the *Indentures* of them unto the parties" (Minsheu, 1627); and a chirograph was a bill, bond, or deed-indented, written in the maker's own hand.

¶ Copied, in short-hand, in his *Journal*.

there, does not appear.* In 1640, when he contemplated departure from New England, he wrote to one of his correspondents, that he was desirous to return to Ireland, "there to follow his old profession, where he had some hope of friendship." †

In the address "To the Reader," of *Plain Dealing*, he alludes to the fact, "well knowne unto many, that heretofore he suffered imprisonment, and a kind of banishment, . . . for some acts construed to oppose, and as tending to subvert Episcopacie, and the settled Ecclesiastical government of England." His offence, as we learn from a couple of lines in Mr. Cotton's *Way of Congregational Churches cleared*, was his "witnessing against the Bishops, in soliciting the cause of Mr. Prynne." In the judgment of Laud and of the High Commission, his crime could hardly have been greater, or have merited more severe punishment. Prynne, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, had drawn upon himself the vengeance of the archbishop, by the publication, in 1633, of *His-triomastix*. He was indicted in the Star Chamber, found guilty of a libel, and condemned to a barbarous punishment, to be followed by imprisonment for life, for the crime of railing "not only against Stage Plays . . . but farther in particular against Hunting, Publique Festivals, Christmas-keeping, Bonfires, and May-poles," &c. ‡ His *real* offence (as Hume suggests) was, probably, that he had, "in plain terms, blamed the hierarchy, the innovations in religious worship, and the new superstitions introduced by Laud." Four years afterwards, a renewal of this offence called for a yet more vindictive prosecution in the same court. On the 14th of June, 1637, he, with Henry Burton, bachelor of divinity, and John Bastwick, a physician, was tried and convicted of

* Wentworth was appointed lord deputy in January, 1632, but did not go to Ireland until July, 1633. In June, 1636, he came to London, remained about six months in England, and returned to Dublin in November. He was not again in London until September, 1639. In December, 1639, he was created Earl of

Strafford and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. — Strafford's *Letters and Dispatches*, i. 63, 84; ii. 430, 431; Nalson's *Collection*, i. 280.

† Letter, without address, dated July 28, 1640, copied, in short-hand, in his *Journal*, p. 159.

‡ *Rushworth*, ii. 220.

"writing and publishing seditious, schismatical and libellous books against the hierarchy of the Church." They were sentenced to lose their ears in the pillory, to be fined £5000 each to the king, to perpetual imprisonment in three remote places of the kingdom; and Prynne to be branded on both cheeks with the letters S. L., for a "Seditious Libeller." This barbarous sentence was executed in the palace-yard at Westminster, June 30; "a spectacle no less strange than sad, to see three of several professions, the noblest in the kingdom, Divinity, Law and Physick, exposed at one time to such an ignominious punishment, and condemned to it by Protestant magistrates, for such tenets in religion as the greatest part of Protestants in England held, and all the reformed churches in Europe maintained."* Immediately after summons was issued for Prynne's appearance before the court, he was shut up close prisoner, refused the use of pen, ink, or paper, and not permitted to consult counsel until very shortly before his trial. In his speech to the court he said: "I was deserted of all means by which I should have drawn my answer. . . . I had neither pen, ink, nor servant to do any thing for me; for my servant was then also close prisoner, under a pursuivant's hands." All who rendered the slightest service to Prynne or his fellow-offenders fell under condemnation. "One Gardener," a scrivener or clerk, who wrote from Prynne's dictation a petition to his judges, was apprehended, subjected to fourteen days' imprisonment, and compelled to give a bond for appearance when called. His counsel, Holt and Tomlyns, did not dare to subscribe his answer, after it was drawn and engrossed. After the execution of his sentence, some of his friends visited him in Chester, on his way to his prison at Caernarvon. Those who had so offended were summoned before the Privy Council, cited into the High Commission at York, imprisoned and fined, and enjoined to make a public recantation.† It is not surprising that Lechford, for "soliciting" in Prynne's cause or otherwise assist-

* May's *Hist. of the Parl.*, b. i. ch. 7.

† Hargrave's *State Trials*, i. 482, 501.

ing his defence, should have been severely dealt with. Of his punishment we know no more than he himself has told us,—that he “suffered imprisonment and a kind of banishment.”

Lechford landed in Boston one year and thirteen days after Prynne’s trial in the Star Chamber. Four years and five months after the trial (Nov. 16, 1641), he dated his “Quæres about Church government” from his chambers in Clement’s Inn, and, on the first page of *Plain Dealing*, speaks of “having been forth of his native country *almost* for the space of four years last past.” The inference, from comparison of these dates, seems to be, that he left England in the autumn or winter of 1637, but did not then sail directly for Boston. His imprisonment could not have been of many months’ duration.

In the letter to Hugh Peters,* before cited, he writes :—

“Being thrown out of my station in England . . . I forfook preferment in a Prince’s court that was offered to me, who of Christian princes is the chiefe for godlinefs (as I was assured), Georgius Ragotzki, Prince of Transylvania and Lord of Lower Hungary, successor to Bethlem Gabor.† Likewise the Lords of Providence‡ offered me place of pre-

* Deciphered from the short-hand copy in the *Journal*, p. 30.

† George, son of Sigismund Rakoczy, or Ragotzki, the representative of a noble family distinguished for many generations in the annals of Transylvania, was chosen prince (vaivode) of that province in 1631. He married a daughter of Stephen (brother of Gabor) Bethlem. As a champion of the Protestant cause in Hungary and Bohemia against the Jesuits and their tool, the Emperor Ferdinand II., and afterwards as the ally of Gustavus Adolphus, his name was held in high honor among the Protestants of Western Europe. Hoffmann (*Lexicon Univ.*) calls him “Princeps pacificus et egregius.”

‡ The Earl of Warwick, Henry Rich

Earl of Holland, Lord Say and Sele, Lord Brooke, Sir Benjamin Rudyard, and Sir Nathaniel Rich, were among the “Adventurers for the Plantation of the Islands of Providence, Henrietta, and the adjacent Islands” (the Bahamas), incorporated by patent of Dec. 4, 1630. In 1636 and 1637, the privileges of the company were enlarged, and they were encouraged to make liberal advances for promoting the growth of the plantation and fortifying Providence Island against the Spaniards. In February, 1638, the Earl of Warwick, Lord Say and Sele, and Lord Brooke declared their intention of going themselves to the Island; and a considerable number of planters and servants, with a supply of vessels, were to be sent thither

ferment with them, which I will not name. Hither I have come, and, the Lord knows my heart! fain would I join with your Churches," &c.

I have not been able to discover the time or place of Lechford's embarkation for New England, nor in which of the twenty ships which brought three thousand passengers to Massachusetts in the summer of 1638,* he came. His journal begins with the date of his arrival:—

"Boston in New-England, 27^o 4ⁱ the day of my landing—1638."

From some allusions in his letters, especially a reference to conversation "on ship-board," I infer that he came fellow-passenger with Mr. Edmund Browne, afterwards minister of Sudbury, and, perhaps, with Emanuel Downing,† the brother-in-law of Governor Winthrop.

From succeeding pages of his journal, we gather some—but scanty and unsatisfactory—knowledge of his domestic relations. His wife is mentioned, in 1639 and afterwards; and, as no evidence has been discovered of his marriage on this side of the water, we infer that she accompanied him from England; but he nowhere gives any information of her family, nor even introduces her Christian name. In July, 1640,‡ he writes: "I have not yet here an house of my owne to put my head in, or any stock going." He lived in a house, or part of a house, hired of Nathaniel Micklethwaite of Boston, who was, I think, the agent or factor in New England of Richard Hutchinson of London, and perhaps of Edward and William Hutchinson after their removal to Rhode Island.

in advance of the coming of the Lords. Great inducements were offered to planters, and strenuous efforts made to divert emigration from New England to Providence. Among others thus solicited were the Rev. Charles Chauncy, the Rev. Ezekiel Rogers, and Capt. John Underhill.—Sainsbury's *Calendar*, 123, 248, 262, 267. See *Plain Dealing*, p. 48, and note 198.

* *Winthrop*, i. 268.

† Yet I find elsewhere no earlier mention of Downing's arrival than that in the records of the Court of September 6, 1638. (*Mass Records*, i. 236.) Mr. Savage had, apparently, overlooked that reference, when he wrote the note to *Winthrop*, i. 274.

‡ *Plain Dealing*, p. 69.

It appears that he paid his rent, until August, 1639, to Samuel Hutchinson, and subsequently to Mr. Micklethwaite, whose signature appears, on a page of the journal, to the lease of "the chamber etc.," at £5 per year, from Sept. 1, 1639. From the fact that the name of Thomas Savage often occurs as a witness to instruments drawn by Lechford, I conjecture that he was a near neighbor, or perhaps a fellow-tenant under the same roof. Occasional entries like the following give glimpses of the interior of "the chamber etc.," and of Lechford's manner of living:—

1639. June. "Borrowed of Mr. Story about a month since
2^{li} & halfe of the best fuger at 2^{sh} the pound 5^s. 5^d.
April. "Rec^d of Mr. Keayne for a silver laced coate
and a gold wrought cap £2. 10.
May. "Received of Mr. George Story 4 yards and
halfe a quarter of tuft holland to make my wife a
waistcoate at 2^{sh} 8^d per yarde 11^s.
1640. Jan. 31. "I payd Nathaniel Heaton for full of writings
& cutting wood 5^s.
Feb. 1. "I payd John Hurd, delivered to his wife by
Sara our mayd, for making my wife's gowne 8^s.
"I payd Thomas Marhall before hand for
wood, delivered by my wife to his wife in the 10
moneth last past [Dec. 1639] £1.
Since which time I had of him 6. loads of wood
at 5^s. fo I owe him 10^s.
Jan. 12. "Received of Mr. Keayne 6^{li}. of Spanish to-
bacco upon account. And I owe him 1 load of
wood, a good load.
"I payd Mr. Burton for malt, cheefe, and
irons, £1.—and owe him 8^s. 9^d.—in 10th [month]
last.
1641. "Mary Sherman came to my wife the twelveth
day of Aprill, 1641."

Almost from the hour of his landing at Boston, he was regarded with distrust by those whose influence prevailed in state and

church. First, because of his *profession*; for, to "some of the magistrates," and doubtless to Governor Winthrop himself, the employment of "lawyers to direct men in their causes," seemed more objectionable than the custom of obtaining advice from the judges on an *ex parte* statement before the public hearing of the cause.* Winthrop himself, Bellingham, Humphrey, Dudley, Downing,—and perhaps Pelham and Bradstreet,—had been students of law in England; but, on this side of the Atlantic, their legal knowledge was not called into requisition, except as it contributed to qualify them for seats in the Court of Magistrates or as legislators for the new colony; "no advocate being allowed,"† and the exercise of the profession of an attorney being discountenanced so far as possible without absolute interdiction.

But Lechford was not only *professionally* but *doctrinally* objectionable. Though he came to New England, as he says, with a disposition to "lay aside all by-respects, to join with the Church here," "he could not be satisfied in diverse particulars," and "desired to open his mind in some material things of weight concerning the Christian faith" wherein he differed from the received belief of the Massachusetts churches. He was not long in giving to these points of difference more than a sufficient prominence. On his passage hither, he had discussed them with his fellow-passengers; and before, or soon after, his arrival, he made a written statement of his opinions and the arguments by which he sustained them, and placed the paper in the hands of Mr. Downing.‡ These opinions, which he tells us he "did not lightly or hastily take up, but upon good grounds and mature deliberation, long before he ventured to betake himself into these parts of the world," § involved what magistrates and elders held to be fundamental errors, and such as prevented his reception to

* *Winthrop*, ii. 36. "No judge can be wise enough to decide always with satisfaction to both parties," observes Mr. Savage, "after privately hearing, and of necessity, as it were, undertaking the

cause of one, before issuing process."

† *Ibid.*

‡ Letter to Edmund Browne, Dec. 10, 1638. *Journal*, p. 28.

§ To Hugh Peters, Jan., 1639. *Ibid.*, 30.

church fellowship. These errors, as stated by Mr. Cotton, were: "1. That the Antichrist described in the Revelation was not yet come, nor any part of that Prophecy yet fulfilled from the 4th chapter to the end. 2. That the Apostolick function was not yet ceased: but that there still ought to be such, who should by their transcendent Authority govern all churches." *

Lechford himself conceived that his opinions on these controverted points "might be held, or not held, *salva fide*," † and without impediment to church fellowship with those of opposite belief. Indeed, modern orthodoxy, even of the most rigid type, would hardly insist on the identification of the pope of Rome with the prophetic antichrist, and a denial of the permanency of the apostolic function, as essential pre-requisites to church communion, or for the elective franchise. But to the elders of the Bay, in 1638,—when the churches had not yet escaped the dangers of Antinomianism nor been thoroughly purged of all the eighty-two errors condemned by the synod of the year previous,—every deviation from the established creed was matter of grave importance. Moreover, although Lechford professed a disinclination to controversy, he certainly took no great pains to avoid it; so that before he had been many weeks in the colony, his peculiar views were somewhat widely made known, not only through oral discussions, but by means of two or three manuscript volumes of his composition, which he had tendered for the perusal of some of the jealous guardians of orthodoxy in the churches.

In the letter to Hugh Peters, before quoted, Lechford writes: "I showed you my books: you had not leisure to peruse them. I likewise, long before, showed my main book to Mr. Cotton. He had not leisure to read it; and the first draught of that *Of Prophecie*, it lay in his house at least five weeks." Peters had too much work before him, in New England and Old, for wasting his time over the crude speculations of an honest but narrow-minded enthusiast; and Mr. Cotton was perhaps less zealous in

* *Way of Congr. Churches cleared*, pt. i. p. 71.

† See after, his Propositions to the General Court, June 11, 1639.

heresy-hunting, if not more tolerant of error, than before his own narrow escape from the censure of the synod of 1637 for an imputed taint of Hutchinsonianism. If Lechford had gone no farther to look for readers and provoke criticism, he might have fared better, — might have found a way at last to the fellowship of the churches and the favor of magistrates, and have lived and died in Massachusetts, in comfortable circumstances and with a more favorable opinion of “rigid separations” and “electorie ways” than he has expressed in *Plain Dealing*. But, in an evil hour, he sought counsel of the deputy-governor, Thomas Dudley, a man whose conscientiousness was as morbid, his vision as narrow, and his prejudices as strong, as Lechford’s own; who was so jealous for the purity of the faith that he magnified to a mountain every mole-hill of error, and saw in the toleration of new opinions a “cockatrice’s egg,”

“To poison all with heresy and vice.”

“After the court here ended,” wrote Lechford to Hugh Peters, in January, 1639, “I delivered [my book] *Of Prophesie* to Mr. Deputy, to advise thereof as a private friend, as a godly man and a member of the Church, whether it were fit to be published. The next news I had was, that at first dash he accused me of heresy, and wrote to Mr. Governor that my book was fitter to be burned. . . .”

The court to which Lechford refers was probably the Quarter Court held at Boston, Dec. 4th, 1638. On the eleventh of the same month, Dudley wrote from Roxbury, to Winthrop:—

“Sir. Since my coming home, I have read over Mr. Lechford’s booke, and finde the scope thereof to be erroneous and dangerous, if not hereticall, according to my conception—His tenet beinge that the office of apostleship doth still continew and ought foe to doe till Crift’s coming, and that a Church hath now power to make apofles as our Saviour Crist had when hee was heere. Other things there are, but I pray you confider of this, and the infeparable consequences of it: I heare that Mr. Cotton and Mr. Rogers know somethinge of the matter, or man,

with whome you may if you please conferre: I heare also that hee favoureth Mr. Lentall* and hath so exprest himselfe since Mr. Lentall was questyoned by the ministers: It is easyer stoppinge a breach when it begins, then afterwards: wee sawe our error in sufferinge Mrs. Huchinson too longe. I have sent you the booke herewith that in stead of puttinge it to the presse as hee desireth it may rather be putt into the fire as I desire: But I pray you lett him know that I have sent the booke to you, that after you have read it (which I think you said you had not yet done) it may be reftored to him.

"I suppose the booke to be rather copyied out then contrived by Mr. Lechford, hee beinge I thinck, not soe good a greccyan and hebritian as the author undertakes to be." †

Either Winthrop's zeal was less lively, or he saw less danger in the new heresy and its "inseparable consequences," than his colleague. Before the end of the month, Dudley wrote again:—

"For Mr. Lechford and his booke, you say nothing, and I have since heard that the worst opynion in his book (which I thinck I shall prove to be heresy) is taken upp by others. Nowe seeing that this is the way Sathan invades us by (viz. new opynions and heresyfes) it behooves us to be the more vigilant, and to stirr upp our zeale and stopp breaches at the beginninge, least forbearance hurt us as it did before." ‡

Lechford's character appears in a very favorable light in his comment on the course pursued by Mr. Dudley. After disavowing the chief heresy imputed to him, "though indeed my words might have been so strained," he adds:—

"I speak according to my light, and dare do no otherwise. If hotly [pressed by?] Mr. Deputy, I impute it to his zeal against errors: I am not angry with him for it. But when I saw seven shepherds and eight

* See *Plain Dealing*, pp. 22, 41, and notes 78, 144. Mr. Lenthall was "questioned by the ministers," Dec. 11, 1638, at a conference (held at the house of Capt. Israel Stoughton, in Dorchester), of which some manuscript notes, taken

by Robert Keayne, have been preserved.

† *Proceed. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 1855-8, pp. 311, 312.

‡ Dudley to Winthrop, Dec. 29, 1638, in 4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vii. 111.

principal men called out against me, as if I were an Assyrian [the allusion is to Micah, v. 5], I thought there might be something in me to be reproofed, and that it concerned me to look about me. I dealt plainly. . . . Thereupon my book was referred to the consideration of the Elders."

This reference to the elders was the occasion of his addressing to Hugh Peters, Jan. 3, 1638-9, the letter from which several extracts have already been introduced. In an interview with some of the magistrates, he had "intimated a word of [his] *other*, main book," treating of Antichrist and of the millennial kingdom of Christ. "They all now press me to produce *that*. I told them it was not ready for their view: I must first write it, and alter some things: yet at length, upon promise that I should have it again (for if it be no error, I will not part with it for £100) I promised to let them see it. I have accordingly left it to Mr. Deputy and the Governor (who also desired to see it)." This book, with the one *Of Prophecies*, was to be submitted to an assembly of the Elders; and Lechford writes to request Mr. Peters that he would himself be one of the council, "Mr. Ward another, and Mr. Parker of Newbury; and that Mr. Norton and Mr. Phillips may likewise be called;" who should "soundly and maturely advise and consult of the matter," with "all lawful favour" to the writer.

I find no subsequent mention of this council, unless it be referred to by Mr. Cotton, in the passage already cited (from the *Way of the Congregational Churches cleared*, pt. i. p. 71), where Lechford is said to have been "dealt withal both *in conference* and (according to his desire) *in writing*." Neither mode of dealing was effectual to convince him of error, nor would the elders admit that his opinions might be held "*salva fide*." So he was compelled to remain without the church; and exclusion from church fellowship carried with it exclusion from the privileges of a freeman, and disqualification for civil office.

His professional ability was not inconsiderable; but the field for its exercise was restricted. "Kept from all place of preferment in the Commonwealth," he was "forced to get his living by writing petty things, which scarce found him bread," as he

complained to his friends in England, after two years' residence here.* Though his imputed heterodoxy did not prevent his occasional employment, by those of sounder faith, as a conveyancer, scrivener, or draughtsman, his receipts for such professional services were pitifully small. His Journal contains not only the record of every instrument drawn by him while he was in this country, but an account of the compensation he received; from which it appears that his professional income, for the two years after his arrival, was a little more than £47; about £9 of which was in debts remaining unpaid in July, 1640.†

In June, 1639, when he had been nearly a year in Boston, he presented to the General Court certain propositions‡ for the regulation of civil actions, and for the recording of judicial proceedings. He had perhaps been encouraged to hope—for he states that his propositions were “made upon request”—that the Court, notwithstanding his ineligibility to public office, would employ his services in the humbler capacity of clerk or public notary, and provide for his support by giving him work to do for which his studies and experience peculiarly qualified him. His application was not successful. “The Court was willing to bestow employment upon me,” he writes (in short-hand) in his Journal, “but they said to me that *they could not do it for fear of offending the churches, because of my opinions*. Whereupon I thought good to propose unto them as followeth:”—

“Certaine Propositiōns to the generall Cort, 11. 4. 1639.

“Whereas I have delivered that Prophefying in the Church is properly, and therefore ought to be mainely, of prophetickall scriptures: and that Apostles, Evangelists, and Prophets ought to be continued as well and as long as Pastors and Teachers or any other the undoubted officers, (by vertue of the Institution, *some Apostles, some Prophets*, etc.) and that

* *Plain Dealing*, 69.

† “Money received upon my book, as appeareth, £38. 8. 5, or thereabout, be-

sides in debts owing, £8. 18. 10. Cast, 2

(5) 1640.”—Short-hand note in *Journal*.

‡ Printed in *Plain Dealing*, pp. 29, 30.

it is probable there shall come yet a greater Antichrist then ever hath bin, etc.

1. I doe not refuse Church Communion wth any that hold the contrary.
2. If the Elders upon perusall of my books, and hearing me, will give their censure and reasons in writing or otherwise against the maigne propositions in my bookes, if they cannot fatisfy me so farre as to recant, yet I shall be content to be silent.
3. If the Elders upon perusall of my bookes, and hearing me, can convince me of error, in the maigne propositions, I shall be ready to retract, yea, to burne my bookes.
4. If the State and the Elders thinke that the matters I treat on are not *tanti*, or that they are iust occasion of disturbance, I shall be content they will advise of them 12. moneths or more, wth silence on my parte during that space, saving to the Elders and chiefe men, provided that I may have imployment to subsist among you, and in the meane while be admitted to the privileges of God's house ; for that all I write may be held, or not held, *salva fide*, as I conceive. Wth all due submission to this hono^{ble} Co^{rt}

of humble supplicant
Tho: Lechford.

It was in response to this application, probably, that he was "dealt withal, *according to his desire*, in writing," as Mr. Cotton has mentioned. Whether or not the Court gave favorable consideration to the proposition by which Lechford engaged himself to refrain from controversy for twelve months, on consideration of receiving employment, does not appear. But whatever good intentions in his behalf the magistrates, or some of them, may have had, were counteracted by his own imprudence.

In the summer of 1639, he was employed by William Cole* and his wife Elizabeth, for the prosecution of an action against her brother, Francis Doughty, of Taunton, whom she charged with having defrauded her of her marriage-portion and her share in their father's estate. To the preparation of this case, Lechford's Journal and memoranda show that he gave much attention. On the trial before a jury, at the quarter court in September, his zeal for his clients betrayed him into an indiscretion (to use no harsher term) which subjected him to the deserved censure of the court, and gave occasion, not wholly displeasing to the magistrates perhaps, to prohibit him from the exercise of the profession of an *advocate*, to which, as has already been intimated, he does not appear to have had any legitimate title. The order of the court is in these words:—

“Mr. Thomas Lechford, for going to the Jewry & pleading wth them out of Court, is debarred from pleading any man's cause hereafter, unless his owne, and admonished not to presume to meddle beyond what hee shalbee called to by the Courte.”†

Lechford submitted, in a good spirit, to this censure. A few days after receiving it, he presented to the General Court a petition for pardon, with a frank confession of his fault. Of this petition he has preserved a copy, in short-hand.‡ It is worth insertion here, as characteristic of the man.

* William Cole, who came from Chew-Magna, co. Somerset, married Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Doughty, a merchant and sometime alderman of the city of Bristol. Mr. Doughty died before 1637, and while William Cole and his wife were yet in England. Mention of his son, the Rev. Francis Doughty, is made in *Plain Dealing*, p. 41 (of this edition, p. 91, and note 136). John, a brother of William

Cole, was living in Farrington, co. Somerset, in July, 1639. The names of William, John, and Nicholas Cole, appear among the early inhabitants of Mr. Wheelwright's plantation at Exeter, and that of William is subscribed to the association of Exeter planters, Oct. 4, 1639 (Hazard, i. 463).

† *Mass. Col. Records*, i. 270.

‡ *Journal*, page 117.

“*To the Hon^{ble} the Governor, Council and Assistants of this Jurisdiction and to the General Court thereof assembled, 10. 7. 1639.*”

“The humble supplication or petition of Thomas Lechford, [late of Clement’s Inn in the County of Middlefex, gent.]*

“Truely shewing and acknowledging that he did offend in speaking to the Jury without leave, in the cause of William Cole and his wife; and so much the more inexcusable was this delinquency inasmuch as he knew it was not to be done by the law of England. Yet he conceiveth it was not Embracery, for that he had no reward so to doe; and some extenuation may, he conceiveth, be gathered by one or two seeming approbations of the like which he hath observed in other causes here. Notwithstanding, he is heartily sorry for his offence, and acknowledgeth the justice of this Court, and is comforted in this — that he hopeth it may doe him good and the example be a benefit to the publick. Touching his speaking in publick for future time, he submitteth to the wisdom of the Court; and for that which is past, he came to the Court being retained, and it’s true stood there at the lower end, next the deputy Marthal, attending unto a cause or two wherein your petitioner was retained. It was to shew his readines to do the countrey any service he might, as well as to get a little money for himself. Some speeches of his, specially some involuntary and of sudden *interruptions* of some in *authoritie* † being made, whereof some might be occasioned by himself, [being too *tartly*, as he conceiveth, rebuked and *hindered* by some of the Court,]‡ and zeal of speaking for his masters, may seem to offend such as have not been accustomed to publike pleadings of advocates. Such *expressions* of his and involuntary offences he humbly prayeth may be passed by; and such occasions of pleadings your suppliant will readily forbear, as not being sufficient or inclinable by nature thereunto. And he hopeth that this Court and country may upon trial of this petitioner in some other *use* find him, as in many things *ignorant*, so teachable and tractable.

“In the mean while, if your petitioner hath any the least talent to doe

* The words included between brackets were crossed out on revision.

† The characters are so closely crowded together, and rendered so indistinct by the spreading of the ink on the thin paper, that a few words are quite illegible, and of two or three others the reading

is doubtful. For the former, I have left a blank space; and the latter are printed in *italics*.

‡ Several words were crossed out here, others interlined, and these in turn crossed out; and the sentence appears to have been finally left incomplete.

you any service in a way of profitting himself [] livelihood, he defireth it. He is heartily ready, and humbly prayeth the fame, in regard of his low and poor estate, not unknown to some of your Worships: Unfeignedly desiring both to live and die with you in the way of God's ordinances, wherein your petitioner hopeth in some good time or other some of the reverend Elders and himself may come to a perfect or at least a fair understanding of each other, which that we may do is the unfeigned daily prayer of your unworthy petitioner,

"THOMAS LECHFORD."

His submission was probably accepted by the Court, and he was suffered to return to the practice of his profession as an attorney, which, under the restrictions imposed upon it, promised little improvement of his "low and poor estate."

In the autumn and winter of 1639, he received some slight assistance, in the way of employment, from the magistrates. For Mr. Endicott, he had written "The Court booke,* at 16^d. a sheete, 102 sheetes," and received £6. 16s. some time in June or July. In November, after the surrender to Massachusetts of the Dover patent, he wrote "For the Country: The writing of receipt of the Inhabitants of Dover and Kittery and Oyster River into the Protection of this Jurisdiction: The Commission to Mr. Bradstreete for those places: The institution and limitation of the Councell of this Jurisdiction: Another of the same: *Charta libertatis*: The Act of the publike and private tenure of land: The division of the Plantation into shires:" for all which he received the sum of *eleven shillings*.† Not long afterwards, he was employed in the more important task of transcribing the

* I cannot learn that this copy of the "Court Book" has been preserved. It was, undoubtedly, a transcript of the Colony Records, made for Mr. Endicott's own use or for that of the Salem Quarter Court. A. C. Goodell, Esq., of Salem, to whom I applied in the hope of discovering some trace of this volume, calls my attention to the agreement of the number

of "sheets" with the folios of the Colony Records, from the first court at Charlestown, Aug. 23, 1630, to the end of the Quarter Court at Boston, June 4, 1639, making 202 pages (55-256 of the first volume of the manuscript Records of the Governor and Company; pp. 73-268 of the *printed* Records), or 101 folios.

† *Journal*, p. 139.

"breviat of laws," subsequently adopted, with some amendments, as the Body of Liberties.* While engaged in this work,—which, in his hands, we may be sure was something more than that of mere transcription,—he could not resist the temptation, or, as he chose to express it, "he conceived it his duty, in discharge of his conscience," and "as *Amicus curiæ*, with all faithfulness to present" to the Governor and magistrates his objections to certain laws proposed to be embodied in the code.

In May, 1640, in "a paper *intended* for the honored John Winthrop," he expressed his convictions of the advantages and the necessity of submission to the King, and acknowledgment of the authority of the Church of England, "if it be but by way of advice;" frankly confessing that for himself he "disclaimed Parker" and "inclined to Hooker and Jewel as to government."† After this paper was drawn, Dudley was elected governor; and it is not likely that Lechford transferred to him the good advice prepared for Gov. Winthrop.

The year during which he had conditionally promised to keep silence, "saving to the Elders," on matters of difference between himself and the churches, had now expired. He had been "seriously dealt withal," and had been indulged in his desire for "reasons in writing."‡ But his hope that "in some good time the reverend Elders and himself might come to a perfect, or at least a fair understanding," was less and less likely to be realized. He was becoming more dissatisfied with the condition of affairs in New England, both in church and commonwealth. In July, 1640, he wrote to England: "I know my friends desire to know whether I am yet of any better mind than some of my actions about the time of my coming away did show me to be. I do profess that I am of this mind and judgment, I thank God: that Christians cannot live happily without Bishops, as in England, nor Englishmen without a King. Popular elections indan-

* See *Plain Dealing*, p. 27 (this edition, p. 64, and note 91) and p. 31 (this edition, 72, and note 101).

† *Plain Dealing*, pp. 34-37.

‡ See before, p. xxvi.; and *Plain Dealing*, p. 77.

ger people with war and a multitude of other inconveniences.”* Of the people of Massachusetts he says, “I am not of them, in church or commonweal. Some bid me be gone: others labor with me to stay fearing my return will do their cause wrong; and loth am I to heare of a stay, but am plucking up stakes with as much speed as I may, if so be I may be so happy as to arrive in Ireland, there at least to follow my old profession,” &c. “Some silence my letters and will not dispute with me, I think either out of distrust of me, or else despaire of their cause; some cry out of nothing but Antichrist and the Man of Sin. . . . But few know my full mind in some things of weight whereof I do professe I was ignorant and misled in England. You may wonder how I am now reformed,” &c.

“I never intended,” he writes, “openly to oppose the godly here in any thing I thought they mistooke.”† If he maintained some reserve in the expression of his “full mind in some things,” he certainly made no secret of his dislike of “electory ways” and of congregationalism, as is evident from the advice which he proffered to the governor and magistrates, and from his queries propounded to the Elders of Boston, which challenged a discussion of the nature and constitution of a church and the validity of congregational ordination.‡

That his opinions, and his zeal in advocating them, made him obnoxious to the magistrates, as well as to the Elders, is no matter of surprise. When the course which had been taken with others who had similarly offended is considered; when it is remembered that, not only had teachers of doubtful orthodoxy, like Roger Williams and Wheelwright and Mrs. Hutchinson, been banished from the jurisdiction, but laymen of influence and position, like Stoughton and Aspinwall and Coggeshall, when suspected of a taint of heresy or “sedition,” had been as summarily and as severely dealt with,—the leniency shown to

* Short-hand copy, in *Journal*, p. 159.
Comp. *Plain Dealing*, pp. 68, 69.

† See *Plain Dealing*, p. 77.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

Lechford is remarkable. It could hardly have been from motives of policy — only his own vanity could have suggested that it was from “fear his return would do their cause wrong” — that he was suffered to remain so long unmolested. It must rather have been owing to a conviction of his honesty, his conscientiousness, and, possibly, to his lack of influence and the slight danger of infection by his teachings. It would not be easy to find, in the first fifty years of the history of Massachusetts, another instance of so great tolerance of opinions so radically opposed as were Lechford’s to the views of the founders of the colony, and so subversive of the constitution of civil government and of the church polity they sought to establish in New England. He was neither a freeman nor a church-member; not even a householder; in the eye of the law he was merely a “transient person,” who might be driven away with slight ceremony. His calling made him unwelcome; his creed, in the judgment of others besides Thomas Dudley,* was “erroneous and dangerous, if not heretical.” He questioned the validity of any non-episcopal ordination, and saw, in the exercise by the people of the right to elect their own rulers, the root of all evil. He would not acknowledge “a church without a bishop,” and did not hesitate to express his belief that all was going wrong, and must go worse, in “a state without a king.” In the complacent consciousness of his own clearer light and well-grounded convictions, he felt it to be his duty to point out to Governor Winthrop, to Mr. Wilson, and to Mr. Cotton, the errors wherein through ignorance they had gone astray, and were misleading others.† That he should have been permitted for two years and a half to hold his course unchecked, and that his unconcealed and somewhat *aggressive* dissent should have so long escaped censure,

* See before, p. xxii.

† “O mercy, mercy, from all the powers of mercy in heaven and earth” — he wrote in 1640 — “to such as sin of ignorance!” And against this, he modestly

noted in the margin: “In the number of the ignorant I hold *myself*, and Mr. Burton, Mr. Prynne and Dr. Bastwick, and a multitude more.” *Journal*, p. 159 (in short-hand).

proves that the founders of Massachusetts were not incapable of the exercise of toleration, even though they might not give it a place among the virtues.

At length, however, their patience was exhausted. In September, 1640, for a new offence, with which his questioning of the Boston elders * may have had something to do, he was presented by the grand jury, and summoned before the Court of Magistrates in December. When the General Court was in session (Oct. 7), they were "pleased to say something to him, as for good counsel about some tenets and disputations which he had held; advising him to bear himself in silence and as became him." A few weeks afterwards, he writes in his Journal: "I am summoned to appear in court to-morrow, being the first of 10th, 1640. The Lord God direct me, &c." In a letter to England, dated Dec. 19, he mentions having been "lately taken at advantage and brought before the Magistrates, before whom, giving a quiet and peaceable answer [he] was dismissed with favour," &c.† Of this answer he preserved a copy, or perhaps the original draft, in short-hand, in his Journal. An extract from it is printed in a note on page 157 of this volume. Confessing that he had "too far meddled in some matters of church government and the like, which [he was] not sufficient to understand or declare," he threw himself on the mercy of the court. His submission was accepted, and the record shows that —

"Mr. Thomas Lechford, acknowledging hee had overshot himselfe, and is sorry for it, promising to attend his calling, and not to meddle wth controversies, was dismissed." — *Mass. Col. Records*, i. 310.

Mr. Savage, in a note to Winthrop (ii. 36), cites this as a "curiosity in legislative and judicial economy." He was under the

* See *Plain Dealing*, p. 55 (this edition, p. 128).

† "Our chiefe difference was about the foundation of the Church and Ministry,

and what rigid separations may tend unto, what is to be feared, in case the most of the people here should remaine unbaptized; &c." *Pl. Deal.*, 77 (this ed. 156-7).

impression that the engagement "not to meddle with controversies" was inconsistent with the promise "to attend his calling," since "the very calling by which he sought to earn his bread was that of an attorney." The inconsistency disappears on learning from Lechford himself that he was brought before the quarter court on the presentment of a grand jury, and that the controversies in which he had "too far meddled" concerned "matters of church government and the like,"—"the foundation of the church and the ministry, and what rigid separations may tend unto." He acknowledged his fault, promised amendment, and the court dismissed the complaint. Lechford certainly did not feel that he had been hardly dealt by. He avers that he was "dismissed with favour, and respect promised him by some of the chiefe, for the future."*

Sometime in 1640, he was enrolled in the "Military Company of Massachusetts," afterwards the "Ancient and Honorable Artillery." He perhaps owed his election to his intimacy with Thomas Savage, one of the original members of this company, and to the friendship of the captain, Robert Keayne.

Among those with whom Lechford appears to have been on very friendly terms, was George Story, "a young merchant of London," as Winthrop calls him, who lodged in the house of Richard Sherman, and who was the chief instigator of the proceedings against Capt. Keayne in the famous "sow case." For six or seven years from its commencement in 1636, this "great business upon a very small occasion" divided the people of Boston into factions, disturbed the peace of the churches, had an influence in elections, awakened a "democratical spirit" throughout the colony, and at last (in 1643) came near bringing about a radical change in the constitution of the General Court, by depriving the magistrates of the exercise of a negative voice on the action of the house of deputies.† In 1641, the quarrel had not yet reached its height, but it had already assumed for-

* *Plain Dealing*, 77.

† See *Winthrop*, ii. 69-71, 115-119.

midable proportions. That Lechford should become implicated in it, was inevitable. The only attorney in Boston, and the common friend of Story and of Keayne, he received the confidences of both parties, tried his hand at peace-making, gave advice to both, and, of course, offended both; besides exposing himself to the suspicion of wrong-dealing. The trouble which this affair occasioned him may have contributed to hasten his return to England. About a week before he sailed from Boston, he drew up a statement of his connection with the case, for the purpose of clearing himself of "divers imputations" of having promoted litigation by advice which, "in the simplicity of his heart," he had given to Mr. Story and Goody Sherman. This paper is dated July 24, 1641. In the first draft (in his Journal), he had written: "Being purposed some time at least to visit my native" —; but drew his pen through the unfinished sentence, and interlined, in its place: "*Now* being purposed, God willing, to visit my friends in England." In another paragraph, alluding to a conversation which he had with Story, "one Lord's day when the Sacrament was at Boston," he fixes the time by adding, "being the next day as I remember after the newes *that it was supposed Mr. Prynne had sent me money for my passage.*"

Mr. Cotton says that Lechford, "when he saw he could not defend the Error [that the Apostolick function was not yet ceased] but by building again the Bishops, against whom he had witnessed (as he said) in soliciting the cause of Mr. Prynne, he rather then he would revoke his present tenent, acknowledged he was then in an Error when he took part with Mr. Prynne and Mr. Burton, and *therefore he would now return to England* again, to reduce those famous witnesses from the Error of their way. And accordingly, away he went."*

On the same day on which he wrote the statement above-mentioned, Lechford made a letter of attorney to Thomas Savage, to receive all moneys due him in New England, and all letters which should be sent to him, "and the same letters to peruse,

* *Way of Congr. Churches cleared*, pt. i. p. 71.

and send and return them and the said moneys and debts to him, in money or goods and commodities," &c.*

The last entry in his Journal, before leaving Boston, was made on or after July 29. It is a memorandum of his obligation by bond (in which Mr. David Offley was his surety) to Mr. Joshua Hewes of Roxbury, to pay £8. to "Mr. Joshua Foote at the Cocke in Grace church Streete," before Christmas, on a bill or note dated July 27.

On the opposite page are two unimportant entries, of payments of money in England, in the discharge of commissions intrusted to him before sailing. At the head of this page is the date, "Post Mich[aelmas], 17 Car. 1641."

The vessel in which he took passage from Boston sailed on the third of August. We learn from Winthrop (ii. 31), that among her forty passengers were John Winthrop, Jr., Hugh Peters, Thomas Welde, and William Hibbins, who, "finding no ship which was to return right for England, they went to Newfoundland, intending to get a passage from thence in the fishing fleet. . . . They arrived there in 14 days, but could not go altogether, so were forced to divide themselves, and go from several parts of the island, as they could get shipping." Lechford mentions having "touched, coming homeward," at Newfoundland.† On the 16th of November, he was once more an inmate of Clement's Inn, and had "returned humbly to the Church of England."‡

From this time, his personal history remains unknown. The address "To the Reader" of his book, dated Jan. 17, 1641-2, is the last trace of the author which he has left us. All that we have to add is comprised in a single sentence by Mr. Cotton:—

"When he came to England, the Bishops were falling, so that he loft his friends, and hopes, both in Old England and New: yet put out his Book (such as it is) and soon after dyed." — *Way cleared*, pt. i. p. 71.

* *Journal*, p. 234.

† *Plain Dealing*, p. 46 (this edition, 109).

‡ *Ibid.*, 68.

That the magistrates and ministers of Massachusetts should not look with favorable regard upon the book or its author, was natural ; but it is not easy to discover good grounds for so severe a judgment as that recorded by Mr. Cotton upon " *Plaine dealing*, which (in respect of many passages in it) might rather be called false and fraudulent." Lechford was not a man of broad views, or of great political sagacity. He was tolerably clear-sighted, but not far-sighted ; a good observer, but a bad prophet. His own reverses had apparently taken from him whatever hopefulness he had by nature, and he looked habitually to the darker side. Such men cannot lead colonies, or found States. He was out of place in New England, and would have been none the less so, if he had been as firmly convinced as was Mr. Cotton of the identity of the Church of Rome with Antichrist. Little as Winthrop or Cotton could foresee of the future of New England,—of the ultimate results of the work in which they were engaged,—Lechford foresaw less. To his view, prejudiced somewhat, no doubt, by the adverse circumstances against which he struggled from first to last in Massachusetts, "all was out of joint both in Church and Commonwealth ;" * nothing better was to be anticipated from popular government than anarchy and bloodshed ; from separatism, than a speedy relapse to heathenism ; and from a disregard of "worthy *lawyers* of either gown," than tardy repentance.† There were, he thought, "*some* wise men" in New England ; but "*wiser* men than they," if they had attempted to set up in a wilderness a "strange government, differing from the settled government [in England], might have fallen into greater errors." The only hope he saw for the country was in the exertion of the king's prerogative, and the extension of the authority of the Church. "With some kind of subjection or acknowledgment of authority of the Ministry in England," then perhaps, "under God and the King," the colony might "make Church-work and Common-wealth work indeed, and examples to all Countries." ‡

* *Plaine Dealing*, p. 71.† *Ibid.*, 28.‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 34, 35.

Yet *Plain Dealing* was not written in an unfriendly spirit. "I do not this, God knoweth," says the author, "as delighting to lay open the infirmities of these well-affected men, many of them my friends,—but that it is necessary, at this time,"—when England was in danger of falling into the same kingless and churchless abomination of desolation,—“for the whole church of God, and themselves, as I take it.”* However prejudiced in his judgments, however unwarranted his inferences, in his record of *facts* he is conscientious, painstaking, tolerably exact, and almost always reliable. And this it is which gives to his book its peculiar value. It is a view of New England,—more particularly of Massachusetts,—taken upon the spot by an intelligent observer, who, though unsympathising, was not in the main unfriendly; and who, while he certainly did “naught extenuate,” cannot justly be charged with setting down aught in malice. His mistakes are comparatively unimportant; and the information he gives of the state of the country, civil and religious, from 1638 to 1641, is valuable enough to render his book nearly indispensable to the study of New-England institutions.

The Massachusetts Historical Society possesses a manuscript copy of a part of *Plain Dealing*, of which the Hon. James Bowdoin, in a note to the Society’s reprint of the volume, gave the following description:—

“The MS. was at some former period bound up with others, and was probably at that time perfect. It now consists but of twenty-nine pages in small 4to. It is obviously ancient, whether we examine the appearance of the paper, of which the water-marks cannot be distinctly ascertained, or the color of the ink, or the character of the hand-writing; which last is remarkably fine of its kind. The *shorthand*, of which there are short passages on pages 9, 16, 23, 24, and 27 [corresponding with pages 12, 20, 37–38, 39, 41, of the first edition of *Plain Dealing*], differs from any one that the writer has been able to find; and he re-

* *Plain Dealing*. “To the Reader;” (this edition) p. 7.

grets to add, that application to two members of our Society, who are accustomed to shorthand of many periods, has ended, like his own exertions, in an inability to furnish a translation of them. . . . That the MS. was written prior to the printed copy, seems certain, as well from these last considerations, as from the additions and verbal differences that distinguish the two copies:—That it was written *after* Lechford returned to England, is ascertained by its containing the passage, on p. 73 [first edition, p. 13], alluding to his having left New England the August preceding. . . .

“The MS. begins with its own page 7, which is page 8 of the Ebeling copy [of the first edition], at the words—‘the Elders formerly mentioned. Then the Elder requireth,’ &c. It ends with its own page 36, being [page 53, line 10, of the first edition], with the word ‘perfected.’”*

Mr. Bowdoin gave reasons for concluding that this MS. “could not have been the *identical original* which Lechford eventually enlarged, nor that from which the printer copied;” and that “it was probably a duplicate original, made and deposited for security, lest the fruit of his labor should be lost, by fire or other accident.” The handwriting of the MS. is unmistakably Lechford’s, as a comparison of it with his Journal shows. It certainly was not the first draft or sketch of his book: the penmanship is too neat, and there are too few of the interlineations or erasures which abound on the pages of his Journal. My impression is, that the copy of which this is a part was one intended for the use of the printer; but that, on his passage homeward or after his return, the author found so much to amend and so much new matter to add, that it became necessary to make *another* revised copy, from which the book was printed. The additions and alterations, amounting (as Mr. Bowdoin states) to near one-half of the whole, were made, in some places, in *short-hand*, on the margins or blank spaces of the manuscript, and afterwards incorporated in the text,† or printed as notes.

In the note referred to, Mr. Bowdoin has given the results of

* 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iii. 397, 398, 400.

† See after, p. 57, note 77.

a careful collation of the Society's MS. with the printed volume. Of this collation I have made free use in the notes to the present edition ; and, relying upon its accuracy, I have cited the manuscript as "Mass. Hist. Society's Manuscript," or "M.H.S. MS."

The system of short-hand which Lechford used was substantially that taught by John Willis, first published in 1602, and very popular in England for thirty or forty years afterwards. When the characters are well formed, not too much crowded, nor too minute, there is no great difficulty in deciphering them. Lechford was so familiar with this system, and so practised in its use, that he was not very careful how he wrote it, especially in his first drafts ; and when, as on some pages of his Journal, he used bad ink on imperfectly-sized paper, it is not easy always to distinguish his circles from ellipses, straight lines from curves, or dots from dashes.

A second edition of *Plain Dealing*—or a re-issue of the edition of 1642, with a new title-page—appeared in 1644, as *New England's Advice to Old England*. I have never met with this edition, and mention it here only on the authority of Watt and Lowndes.

The copy which I have used while preparing this edition, and for the correction of the press, is from the library of George Brinley, Esq., of Hartford, to whom I am also indebted for the opportunity of consulting several rare tracts cited in the notes.

J. H. T.

HARTFORD, JAN. 8, 1867.



PLAIN DEALING:
O R,
NEVVES
FROM
New-England.

*(Vivat Rex Angliæ Carolus,
Vivat Anglia,
Vivantq³ eorum Amici omnes.)*

A short view of NEW-ENGLANDS
present Government, both Ecclesiasticall and Civil,
compared with the anciently-received and esta-
blished Government of ENGLAND, in
some materiall points; fit for the graveſt
conſideration in theſe times.

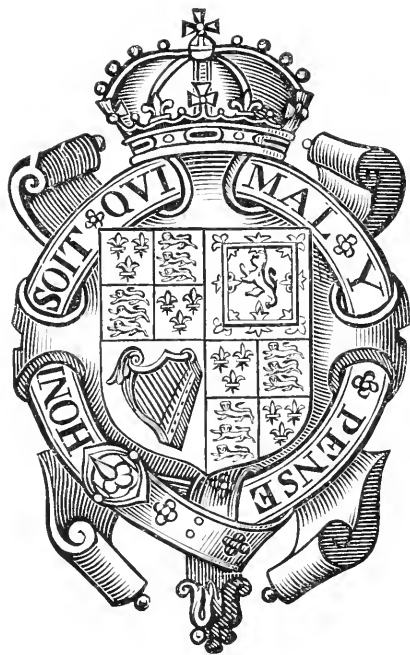
By THOMAS LECHFORD of Clements Inne,
in the County of Middleſex, Gent.

*Levis eſt dolor, qui capere conſilium poteſt,
Et clepere ſeſe; Magna non latitant mala.* Sen.



L O N D O N,

Printed by W. E. and I. G. for Nath: Butter, at the ſigne of
the pyde Bull neere S. Auſtins gate. 1642.





TO THE READER.

E *Very man is to approve himselfe, and answer to God for his actions his conscience leads him to; and next, to good men, as much as in him lyeth. I have thus presumed to enter into publique, for these reasons:*

First, because it is well knowne unto many, that heretofore I suffered imprisonment, and a kind of banishment out of this good Land, for some acts construed to oppose, and as tending to subvert Episcopacie, and the settled Ecclesiasticall government of England: therefore now I desire to purge my self of so great a scandall; and wherein I have offended, to intrcat all my Superiours, and others, to impute it rather to my ignorance, for the time, then any wilfull stubbornnesse.

Secondly, seeing that since my comming home, I find that multitudes are corrupted with an opinion of the unlawfulnessse of the Church-government by Diocesan Bishops, which opinion I beleeve is the root of much mischief; having now had experience of divers governments, I see not how I could

with faithfulness to God, my King and Country, be any longer silent, especially considering some of these late troubles occasioned, among other sins, I fear, much through this
 * *evill opinion. Happy | shall I be, if any be made wiser by my harmes; I wish all men to take heed, how they shake hands with the Church of God, upon any such heedlesse grounds as I almost had done.*

Thirdly, that I might (though unworthy) in a fit season, acquaint the learned and pious Divines of England with these my slender observations, quæres, and experiments, to the end they may come the better prepared, upon any publique occasion, for the consideration of such matters, and so at length, those good things that are shaken among us may be established, and truth confirmed.

It is enough for me, being a Student or Practiser at Law, faithfully to put a Case, which will be this: Whether the Episcopall Government by Provinciaall and Diocesan Bishops, in number about 26. in England, being, if not of absolute Divine authority, yet nearest, and most like thereunto, and most anciently here embraced, is still safest to be continued?

Or a Presbyterian government, being (as is humbly conceived) but of humane authority, bringing in a numerous company of above 40000. Presbyters to have chiefe rule in the keys, in England, be fit to be newly set up here, a thing whereof we have had no experience, and which moderate

wife men think to be lesse consonant to the Divine patterne, and may prove more intolerable then the said Episcopacie?

Or an independent government of every congregationall Church ruling it selfe, which introduceth not onely one absolute Bishop in every Parish, but in effect so many men, so many Bishops, according to New-Englands rule, which in England would be Anarchie & confusion?

I would entreat those that stand for this last mentioned manner of government, to be pleased to consider,

1. *That the very terme of leading, or ruling in the Church, attributed to Elders, forbids it; for if all are Rulers, who shall be ruled?*

2. *The maine acts of Rule consist of receiving into the Church by Baptisme, or otherwise, and ejection out of the Church by censure, binding and loosing; now these are committed to the Apostles, and their successors, and not to all the members of the Church.*

3. *All have not power to baptize, therefore not to receive into the Church, nor to cast out of the Church. My brethren, be not many masters, saith S. Iames, 3. 1. The words of the wife are as goads, and as nayles, fastened by the masters of assemblies, which are given from one Shepherd, Ecclef. 12. 11.*

And whereas some may say, that this power of ruling is but ministerially in the officers, and initiatively, conclusively, and virtually in the people: If so, what power ordi-

narily have the people to contradict the ministeriall works and acts of their Officers? Must the whole Church try all those whom their Ministers convert abroad, suppose among Indians, before they may baptize them? How can all the Church examine and try such? All have not power, warrant, leisure, pleasure, ability, for, and in such works, nor can all speake Indian language.

Doubtlesse the acts of rule by the Officers is the rule of the whole Church, and so to be taken ordinarily without contradiction, else there would be no end | of jangling: And thus taken, the whole Church of Corinth, by S. Pauls command, (sc. by their Ministers) were to put away that wicked person, and deliver him up to Satan, 1 Cor. 5. 13. and restore him, and forgive him, 2 Cor. 2. and so all the doubt on that Text is (neer I think) resolved.

Now that the government at New-England seemeth to make so many Church-members so many Bishops, will be plaine by this ensuing Discourse: for you shall here find, that the Churches in the Bay governe each by all their members unanimously, or else by the major part, wherein every one hath equall vote and superspection with their Ministers: and that in their Covenant it is expressed to be the duty of all the members, to watch over one another. And in time their Churches will be more corrupted then now they are; they cannot (as there is reason to feare) avoid it possibly. How can any now deny this to be Anarchie and confusion?

Nay, say some, we will keep out those that have not true grace. But how can they certainly discern that true grace, and what measure God requireth? Besides, by this course they will (it is to be feared) in stead of propagating the Gospel, spread heathenisme; in stead of gaining to the Church, lose from the Church: for when the major part are unbaptized, as in twenty years undoubtedly they will be, by such a course continued, what is like to become of it, but that either they may goe among their fellow-heathens the Indians, or rise up against the Church, and break forth into many grievous distempers among themselves? which God, and the King forbid, I pray.

And that you (courteous Reader) may perceive I have from time to time dealt cordially in these things, by declaring them impartially to my friends, as I received light, I shall adde in the last place certaine passages out Letters, sent by me into England to that purpose, and conclude.

And I doe not this, God knoweth, as delighting to lay open the infirmities of these well-affected men, many of them my friends, but that it is necessary, at this time, for the whole Church of God, and themselves, as I take it: Besides, many of the things are not infirmities, but such as I am bound to protest against; yet I acknowledge there are some wise men among them, who would help to mend things, if they were able, and I hope will do their endeavours. And I think that wiser men then they, going into a wildernesse

to set up another strange government differing from the settled government here, might have falne into greater errors then they have done.

Neither have I the least aime to retard or hinder an happy and desired reformation of things amisse either in Church or Common-wealth, but daily and earnestly pray to God Almighty, the God of Wisdome and Counsell, that he please so to direct his Royall Majesty, and his wise and honourable Counsell, the high Court of Parliament, that they may fall upon so due and faire a moderation, as may be for the glory of God, and the peace and safety of his Royall Majesty, and all his Majesties dominions, and good Subjects. Vale.

Clements Inne,

Jan. 17. 1641.

Thomas Lechford.

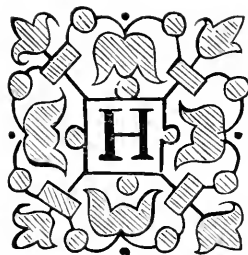
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Plaine dealing :
OR,
NEWES
FROM
NEW-ENGLAND.



Aving been forth of my native Countrey, almost for the space of foure yeeres last past,¹ and now through the goodnesse of Almighty God returned, many of my friends desiring to know of me the manner of governments, and state of things, in the place from whence I came, *New England*; I thinke good to declare my knowledge in

¹ Lechford landed at Boston, June 27, 1638. He sailed for England, by the way of Newfoundland, Aug. 3, 1641. His "Quæres about Church

government," in this volume, are dated from Clement's Inn, Nov. 16, 1641.—*Ms. Journal*, p. 1; *Plaine Dealing*, 13, 68; *Winthrop*, ii. 31.

such things, as briefly as I may. I conceive, and hope, it may be profitable in these times of disquisition.

2 *For the Church government, and administrations, in the Bay of the Mattachusetts.*

How Churches
are gathered
there.

A Church is gathered there after this maner: A convenient, or competent number of Christians, allowed by the generall Court to plant together, at a day prefixed, come together, in publique manner, in some fit place, and there confesse their sins and professe their faith, one unto another, and being satisfied of one anothers faith & repentance, they solemnly enter into a Covenant with God, and one an other (which is called their Church Covenant, and held by them to constitute a Church) to this effect: *viz.*

Their Church
Covenant.

To forsake the Devill, and all his workes, and the vanities of the sinfull world, and all their former lusts, and corruptions, they have lived and walked in, and to cleave unto, and obey the Lord Jesus Christ, as their onely King and Lawgiver, their onely Priest and Prophet, and to walke together with that Church, in the unity of the faith, and brotherly love, and to submit themselves one unto an other, in all the ordinances of Christ, to mutuall edification, and comfort, to watch over, and support one another.

Election of their
Church Officers.

Whereby they are called the Church of such a place, which before they say were no Church, nor of any Church

except the invifible: After this, they doe at the fame time, or fome other, all being together, elect their own Officers, as Pastor, Teacher, Elders, Deacons, if they have fit men enough to fupply thofe places; elfe, as many of them as they can be provided of.

3

Then they fet another day for the ordination of their faid officers,² and appoint fome of themfelves to impofe hands upon their officers, which is done in a publique day of fafting and prayer. Where there are Minifters, or Elders, before,³ they impofe their hands upon the new Officers: but where there is none, there fome of their chiefeft men, two or three, of good report amongft them, though not of the Miniftery, doe, by appointment of the faid Church, lay hands upon them.⁴ And after the faid

Their Ordina-
tions.

² “Of this they give notice to all the near adjoining churches, . . . intreating their prefence, and brotherly counfell, and affiftance. . . . They give notice alfo thereof unto the governor, and fuch other of the magiftrates as are near to them, that the perfon to be chofen, meeting with no juft exception from any, may find the greater encouragement and acceptance from all.” — Cotton’s *Way of the Congreg. Churches*, 40. Comp. *Answer of the Bofton Elders to Lechford’s Questions*, p. 55, *poft*.

³ “It is a received praftise amongft us, that when any combine into a Church, there is one at leaft of them

indued with able parts of humane and divine learning, that either hath been a Minifter in our native cuntry, or is fit to be one amongft them, who ufually and frequently preacheth to them after they are united.” — T. Welde, *Answer to W. R. his Narration*, (Lond. 4to. 1644.) p. 37. “It is our ufual and conftant courfe (as hath beene faid) not to gather any church, untill they have one amongft themfelves, fit for a Minifter, whom with all fpeede they call into Office, and account themfelves a lame and imperfect body till that be effected.” — *Id.*, 55.

⁴ “One of the Elders of the church,

The right hand
of fellowship by
messengers of
Churches.

ordination, if there are any Elders of other Churches present, (as of late I have knowne divers have been present, under the names of the Messengers of the Churches) they give the new Officers the right hand of fellowship, taking them by the right hand, every one severally, or else, sometimes, one forraine Elder, in the name of all the rest, gives the right hand of fellowship, with a set speech unto them.⁵ Notice is given in divers Churches or other places, before-hand, of the gathering of every

(if they have any) if not, one of the graver brethren of the church, (appointed by themselves to order the work of the day) . . . he then, with the Presbytery of that church (if they have any, if not, two or three others of the gravest Christians amongst the brethren of that church, being deputed by that body) do, in the name of the Lord Jesus, ordain him unto that office, with imposition of hands," &c. — Cotton's *Way of the Congreg. Churches*, 41. Comp. his *Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*, &c., 21, 28, 37. See Mr. Gott's account of the ordination of Mr. Skelton, at Salem, in 1629, in *Bradford*, 266; the *Answer of the Boston Elders to Lechford*, p. 55, *post*; *Winthrop*, i. 31, 96, 114, 115, 116, 180. "Some difference there was" about the ordination of Rev. Thomas Carter, at Woburn, in 1642, — when "some advised, in regard they had no elder of their own, nor any members very fit to solemnize such an ordinance,

they would desire some of the elders of the other churches to have performed it; but others supposing it might be an occasion of introducing a dependency of churches, etc., and so a presbytery, would not allow it." (*Winthrop*, ii. 91.) A few years later, Hooker (*Survey*, ii. 59) maintained that, "though it be most comely that those of *the same* Congregation should exercise it [the act of ordination], yet the *Elders* also of *other* Congregations may be invited hereunto;" and the Cambridge Synod of 1649, "saw not why imposition of hands might not be performed by the elders of other churches." — *Platform*, c. ix. § 5. Comp. *Magnalia*, b. v. pt. 2.; *Hist. Remarks*, § 5. (fol. p. 42); and *Ratio Disciplina*, 14-42.

5 "Testifying their brotherly acceptance of him, . . . and doth exhort him in the Lord, to fulfil the ministry which he hath received of the Lord." — Cotton, *Way*, 42.

Church, divers weeks before; and so also of every ordination. And some Ministers, or others, as Messengers from other Churches, are usually present at such gatherings of Churches, and ordinations: for sometimes, Magistrates, Captains, Gentlemen, and other meaner Brethren, are made messengers of Churches, for those and other purposes, never having had imposition of hands: And at planting of a Church, or gathering, as they tearme it, one of the Church messengers of forraine Churches, examines and tries the men to be moulded into a Church, discerns their faith and repentance, and their Covenant being before ready made, written, subscribed, and here read and acknowledged, hee decerns⁶ and pronounceth them to be a true Church of Christ, and gives them the right hand of fellowship, and all this in the name of Christ, and of all the Church-messengers present, and their Churches: so did Master *Weld* at the founding of *Weymouth* Church, or to this effect.⁷

4

⁶ Decides, determines, adjudges. — *Richardson*. From the Latin, *decernere*.

⁷ “The Churches indeed send Messengers (commonly their Elders) to lend them a word of counsell if they need, being more experienced in those ways then (commonly) new beginners are, to joyne their prayers with theirs, and to give them the right hand of fellowship. . . . The Messengers [if

unsatisfied with any of those that are about to enter into church fellowship,] never arrogated to themselves such power, to this day, (nay, they professedly expresse against it, constantly in such meetings) as *to forbid their entrance* into Church estate. The most they doe (at any time in this case) is, to desire leave to be faithfull in interposing their counsell, and that only when they see very great cause: And

And the generall Court will not allow of any Church otherwife gathered.⁸

Some differ.

Some Minifters have there heretofore, as I have heard, difclaimed the power of their Miniftery received in *England*, but others among them have not.⁹ Generally, for

withall leave them to their Chriftian liberty.”—Welde, *Reply to W. R.*, 34, 35. Comp. *Winthrop*, i. 183, 184. Concerning the “founding of Weymouth Church,” which was regathered Jan. 30, 1639, “with approbation of the magiftrates and elders,”—fee *Winthrop*, i. 287, 288; and p. 22, *poft*.

⁸ See order of March, 1636, *Maſs. Records*, i. 168.

⁹ There had been ſome differences of opinion among the miniſters of Maſſachuſetts as to the validity of epifcopal ordination,—accordingly as they inclined more to non-conformity, or ſeparate congregationaliſm; though all agreed in holding that “the eſſence of miniſters’ calling under the Goſpel, is the Congregation’s conſent.” The “Confefſion and Proteſtation of the Faith of Certain Chriſtians in England,” &c. (1616), attributed, though queſtionably, to Henry Jacob, was explicit on theſe points: “We cannot but believe it to be ſimply unlawful and ſinful, to fetch, receive, yea, or to uſe, a miniſtry formerly received from the Prelates;” and “that a miniſter, ſo reputed, without any particular flock, is indeed no miniſter.” (*Hanbury’s Memorials*, i. 296.) So Rob-

inſon (*Fuſtliſ. of Separation*, 334,) ſays, “The judgement . . . of the moſt forward men in the Land, in this caſe, I may not omit; which is, that *they renounce, & diſclaym their ordination by the Prelates*, and hold their Miniſtry by the peoples acceptation.” But while Rev. George Phillips of Watertown (who came over with Winthrop,) had declared, that “if they will have him ſtand miniſter by that calling which he received from the prelates in England, he will leave them,”—Mr. Wilſon was conſtituted teacher of the church at Charleſtown by impoſition of hands, “with this proteſtation by all, that it was only as a ſign of election and confirmation, not of any intent that Mr. Wilſon ſhould renounce his miniſtry he received in England.”—Fuller’s Letter to Gov. Bradford, 1 *Maſſ. Hiſt. Coll.*, iii. 74; *Winthrop*, i. 32.

In April, 1637, the miniſters who met at Concord for the ordination of Mr. Bulkley and Mr. Jones, “reſolved that ſuch as had been miniſters in England were lawful miniſters by the call of the people, notwithstanding their acceptance of the call of the biſhops, etc., (for which they humbled

the most part, they hold the Pastors and Teachers offices to be distinct; the Teacher to minister a word of knowledge, the Pastor a word of wisdom, but some hold them all one; ¹⁰ as in the Church of *Watertowne*, there are two

themselves, acknowledging it their sin, etc.) but *being come hither, they accounted themselves no ministers*, until they were called to another church." *Winthrop*, 217, 218. Mr. Lenthall, who was called by the people of Weymouth, "standing upon his ministry as of the Church of England, . . . was compelled to recant some words," (as Lechford tells, p. 22); and at his examination by the Elders of the Bay, in January, 1639, Mr. Cotton said to him that "his former ordination, not being given by them that had lawful power, and former election, will not serve to make him a minister here, except they [the people of Weymouth] were in a mutual covenant as a church before," &c. (*Mf. Notes by Robt. Keayne*.) But when Roger Williams cited the admission of Mr. Cotton "and others most eminent in New England," that, "notwithstanding their former profession of ministry in Old England, yea, in New England," "they were but private Christians, until they received a calling from a particular church," (*Mr. Cotton's Letter Examined*, 1644; *Bloudy Tenent*, ch. xxvii.), — Mr. Cotton replied, that, "being cast out by the usurping power of the prelacy, and

dismissed, though against their wills," they did look upon themselves "as *private members* and *not officers* to any church here," until called, &c.; but that any other sense given to their declaration was either a mistake or "a fraudulent expression" of their minds. — *Reply to Mr. Williams's Answer*, p. 131.

Hooker (*Survey*, ii. 50, 51), declares that the doctrine of an "*indelebilis* character" impressed by ordination, "comes out of the forge of Popery, and is so besotted with the smoke of the bottomless pit, and carried along in the fogs of the mysteries of iniquity, that by a secret sleight it hath eaten insensibly into the *orders of Christ* before the world was aware."

¹⁰ William Rathband, in his "Narration of the Opinions and Practices of the Churches lately erected in New-England" (London, 1644.) asserted, that "whereas, in opinion and tenet they precisely distinguish between the pastor's and teacher's office, yet in practice they usually confound them: both Pastor and Teacher equally teaching and equally applying both the Word and Seales, without any difference." (p. 42.) Thomas Welde, in "An Answer to W. R. his Narra-

Pastors,¹¹ neither will that Church send any messengers to any other Church-gathering or ordination.

How members
are received or
added to the
Church there.

When a man or woman commeth to joyne unto the Church so gathered, he or shee commeth to the Elders in private, at one of their houses, or some other place ap-

tion," &c. (printed the same year, at London,) declares this statement untrue; "for it is both our professed judgements and *constant practice*, that as the teacher is chosen, whose proper gift is aptnesse to teach, so after hee is chosen, hee bends himselfe that way, and waites upon teaching, so the Pastor upon exhorting, as *Rom.* 12. 7, 8. Though in such congregations where there is but one, hee labours to improve his talent both waies, for the present necessity, till that defect be supplied:" and citing from Mr. Cotton's *Catechism*, p. 2, "The Pastor's worke is to attend upon exhortation; The Teacher on Doctrine," — adds: "His owne, and others practises there run accordingly" (p. 57). — Comp. Hooker's *Survey*, ii. 19, 21; Savage, *Note on Winthrop*, i. 31; Dexter's *Congregationalism*, 125.

There was "a very sharp debate anent the office of Doctors," (or Teachers,) in the Westminster Assembly, in 1643. The Independents "were for the divine institution of a Doctor [Teacher] in every congregation, as well as a Pastor." The Presbyterians were "extremely opposite:" but a final agreement was had on certain

propositions "wherein the absolute necessity of a Doctor in every congregation, and his divine institution, in formal terms, was eschewed, yet where two ministers can be had in one congregation, the one is allowed, according to his gift, to apply himself most to teaching, and the other to exhortation; according to the Scriptures." — *Baylie's Letters*, in *Hanbury*, ii. 217.

¹¹ George Phillips and John Knowles. Winthrop (ii. 18), when recording, under date of Dec. 9, 1640, the ordination of Mr. Knowles, "a godly man and a prime scholar," remarks: "And so they had now two pastors and no teacher, differing from the practice of the other churches, as also they did in their privacy, not giving notice thereof to the neighboring churches, nor to the magistrates, as the common practice was."

A few weeks after Mr. Wilfon's return from England, in 1632, the Boston Church sought advice from the elders and brethren of Plymouth, Salem, etc., on the question "Whether there might be divers pastors in the same church?" to which the response was, "Doubtful." — *Winthrop*, i. 81.

pointed, upon the weeke dayes, and make knowne their
desire, to enter into Church-fellowship with that Church,
and then the ruling Elders, or one of them, require, | or 5
aske him or her, if he bee willing to make known unto
them the worke of grace upon their soules, or how God
hath beene dealing with them about their conversion :
which (at *Boston*) the man declareth usually standing, the
woman sitting. And if they satisfie the Elders, and the
private affembly, (for divers of the Church, both men
and women, meet there usually) that they are true be-
leevers, that they have beene wounded in their hearts for
their originall sinne, and actuall transgressions, and can
pitch upon some promise of free grace in the Scripture,
for the ground of their faith, and that they finde their
hearts drawne to beleieve in Christ Iesus, for their justi-
fication and salvation, and these in the ministerie of the
Word, reading or conference : and that they know com-
petently the summe of Christian faith. And sometimes,
though they be not come to a full assurance of their good
estate in Christ. Then afterwards, in convenient time, in
the publique affembly of the Church, notice is given by
one of the ruling Elders, that such a man, or woman, by
name, desireth to enter into Church-fellowship with them,
and therefore if any know any thing, or matter of offence
against them, for their unfitnessse to joyne with them, such
are required to bring notice thereof to the Elders ; else,

The usuall
terms where-
upon.

that any who know them, or can fay any thing for their fitteffe, be ready to give testimony thereof, when they fhall be called forth before the whole Church.

6 If there be matter of offence, it is firft heard | before the Elders, and if the party fatisfie them, and the offended, in private, for private offences, and promife to fatisfie in publique, for publique offences; then, upon another day, one of the ruling Elders calleth forth the party, by name, in the publique affembly of the Church, and before ftrangers, and whomsoever prefent, moft commonly upon the Lords day, after evening exercifes, and fometimes upon a week day, when all the Church have notice to be prefent.

Matters of offence how heard in private.

Dilatorie proceedings in admitting members.

The party appearing in the midft of the Affembly, or fome convenient place, the ruling Elder fpeaketh in this manner: Brethren of this congregation, this man, or woman *A. B.* hath beene heretofore propounded to you, defiring to enter into Church-fellowfhip with us, and we have not, fince that, heard any thing from any of you to the contrary, of the parties admittance, but that we may goe on to receive him: Therefore now, if any of you know any thing againft him, why he may not be admitted, you may yet fpeak. Then after fome filence he proceedeth, Seeing no man fpeaketh to the contrary of his admiffion, if any of you know any thing, to fpeak for his receiving, we defire you, give testimony thereof to the

Church, as you were also formerly desired to be ready therewith, and expresse your selves as briefly as you may, and to as good hearing. Whereupon, sometimes, men do speak to the contrary, in case they have not heard of the propounding, and so stay the party for that time also, till this new offence be heard before the | Elders, so that sometimes there is a space of divers moneths between a parties first propounding and receiving; and some are so bashfull, as that they choose rather to goe without the Communion, then undergoe such* publique confessions and tryals, but that is held their fault.¹²

7

these public confessions be not extremes, and whether some private Pastorall or Presbyteriall collation, left at liberty, upon cause, and in case of trouble of conscience, as in the Church of England is approved, be not better then those extremes, I leave to the wise and learned to judge.

* Whether Pophish Auricular confession, and

But when none speaketh to the contrary, then some one, two, or three, or more of the Brethren speak their

Testimonials and Recommendations.

¹² Comp. Cotton's *Way*, pp. 53-55. "In this trial," he says, "we do not exact eminent measure, either of knowledge, or holiness, . . . for we had rather ninety-nine hypocrites should perish through presumption, than one humble soul belonging to Christ should sink under discouragement or despair." (p. 58.) Yet Mather (*Magnalia*, b. v. pt. ii. 43, 44) commenting upon certain "difficulties" in the platform of discipline, corroborates Lechford's statement. "The Jews tell us of כליא, or a Scare-Crow upon the top of the Temple, which kept off the fowls from defiling of it; and it hath

been the Opinion of many that this Custom of Relations, to be made by Candidates for Admission to the Church . . . is as a Scare-Crow to keep Men out of the Temple; but, it may be, it has been the Opinion of as many, that none but the Defilers of the Temple would be kept out by such a Scare-Crow. . . . Well, the result of these various Apprehensions has been this: That some *unscriptural Severities*, urged in this matter by several of our Churches, in the beginning of the Plantation, are now generally laid aside," etc. So, Increase Mather (in the Epistle prefixed

opinions of the party, giving instances in some godlineesse and good conversation of his, or some other recommendation is made, and that they are willing (if the Church thereto consent) for their part, to give him the right hand of fellowship.

Which done, the Elder turneth his speech to the party to be admitted, and requireth him, or sometimes asketh him, if he be willing to make knowne to the congregation the work of grace upon his soule; and biddeth him, as briefly, and audibly, to as good hearing as he can, to doe the same.

Publique confessions of parties to be received.

Thereupon the party, if it be a man, speaketh himselfe; but if it be a woman, her confession made before the Elders, in private, is most usually (in *Boston* church)

to the Life of Mitchell,) says, "It cannot be denied . . . that there has been an unjustifiable *Severity* in imposing *Circumstantials* not instituted, whereby some truly gracious Souls have been discouraged from Offering themselves to joyn in Fellowship with such Churches. Thus it hath been, when an Oral Declaration of *Faith* and *Repentance* has been enjoyed on all Communicants, and that before the *whole Congregation*; when as many an Humble Pious Soul has not been gifted with such *Confidence*." — (*Magnalia*, b. iv. c. 4. p. 159.)

Mr. Hooker spoke more pointedly. After laying down the rule, that "if

a person live not in the commission of any known sin, nor in the neglect of any known duty, and can give a reason of his hope towards God," he is to be judged fit for church-society, — he remarked (*Survey*, iii. 6), "This rule being received and agreed upon, it would mervailously facilitate the work of *Admission*, without any trouble, and prevent such *curious inquisitions* and *niceties*, which the *pride* and *wantonnesse* of mens spirits hath brought into the Church, to disturb the peace thereof, and to prejudice the progresse of God's Ordinances." [Comp. *Cambridge Platform*, c. xii. § 3.]

read by the Pastor, who registred the same.¹³ At *Salem* the women speake themselves, for the most part, in the Church; but of late it is said, they doe this upon the week dayes there, and nothing is done on Sunday, but their entrance into Covenant. The man in a solemne speech, sometimes a quarter of an houre long, shorter or longer, declareth the work of grace in his soule, to the same purpose, as that before the Elders formerly mentioned. 8

Then the Elder requireth the party to make profession of his faith; which also is done either by questions and answers, if the party be weake, or else in a solemne speech according to the summe and tenour of the Christian faith laid downe in the Scriptures, defining faith, and shewing how it is wrought by the Word, and Spirit of God, defining a Church to be a company of beleevvers gathered out of the world, by the Word preached, and holy Spirit, and knit together by an holy Covenant, that there are in the Church remaining such and such officers,

Their profession
of faith.

¹³ "In the churches where we have lived many years, we have seene such a tender respect had to the weaker sex (who are usually more fearefull and bashfull) that we commit their triall to the Elders and some few others in private, who upon their testimony are admitted into the Church without any more adoe."—T. Welde,

Answer to W. R., 19. "Some, being more weake and fearefull," says the same writer (p. 48.) "we rather tender (as Jacob would not overdrive the feabler sort of ewes and lambes) lest they should miscarry."—Comp. Hooker's *Survey*, iii. 6; *Cambr. Platform*, ch. xii. § 4.

Officers in the Church. and members, as aforesaid: That is to say, Pastors and Teachers, ruling Elders, Deacons and Deaconesses or Widowes;¹⁴ and such and such are their offices and duties in particular, *viz.* the Pastor to exhort, and be-
 Their duties or offices. fides to rule; the Teacher to instruct in knowledge, and likewise to rule; the ruling Elder¹⁵ to assist Pastor and

¹⁴ See, after, p. 15, — “No Church there hath a Deaconesse, as far as I know.” Robert Browne (*The Points and Parts of all Divinity*. Middleburgh, 1582,) names the Widow, as “a person having office of God to pray for the Church, and to visit and minister to those which are afflicted and distressed in the Church.” *Defin.* 54. (*Hanbury’s Memorials*, i. 21.) “Their Relievers, or Widows, must be women of sixty years of age at the least, for avoiding of inconveniences,” &c. — *True Descrip. of the Visible Church*, 1589. (*Ibid.* 30.) Comp. J. Canne’s *Necessitie of Separation*, 6. Gov. Bradford mentions “one ancient widow . . . a Deaconness,” in his time, in the church at Amsterdam. — *Dialogue between some Young Men*, &c., *Young’s Chron. of Plymouth*, 455.

Mr. Cotton regarded Widows as “fit assistants to the Deacons, in ministering to the sick,” etc., . . . “onely we find it somewhat rare to find a woman of so great an age . . . fit to undertake such a service.” — *Way of the Congreg. Churches*, p. 39. Comp. *Cambr. Platform*, c. vii. § 7. — “The Lord

hath appointed ancient widows, 1 *Tim.* v. 9, 10, (where they may be had,) to minister” etc. Mr. Davenport (*Catechism*; repr. N. Haven, 53,) names four officers of “the second sort of ministry: . . . 4. The Deacon, . . . under whom is included the widow or Deaconess, who is to attend the sick and impotent,” &c.

¹⁵ Savage, on Winthrop, i. 31, note 3. For ample citations of early authorities, and a history of this office from its origin to its decline, and, finally, its entire disuse, in Congregational churches, see Rev. Dr. Dexter’s *Congregationalism*, pp. 110–132. “The latest record on the books of the First Church in Boston, of the election of a Ruling Elder is believed to be of date, August 3, 1701.” — *Ibid.* 131. A few years earlier, Joshua Scottow lamented that, while “some of the Old Planters children” remembered “that there were such men, when they were young, that were called Ruling Elders, . . . what men they were, or what was their work, they professed they could not tell.” — *Narrat. of the Planting*, &c. (1694), in 4 *Mss. Hist. Coll.*, iv. 329.

Teacher in ruling, as the Levites were given to the Priests for helps, and to see to whomsoever coming in-to, or to goe forth of the Church, by admonition,¹⁶ or excommunication; the Deacon to receive the contributions of the Church, and faithfully to dispose the same; the Deaconesses to shew mercie with cheerfulness, and to minister to the sick and poore brethren; the members all, to, | watch over and support one another in brotherly love. Members duties. 9

Notwithstanding, there was a Sermon lately made by A Sermon of Master Cotton in *October, Anno 1640.* upon *1 Cor. 11. 19.* touching heresies, which was since commonly there called the Sermon of the twelve Articles, wherein was declared, that there are twelve Articles of Religion, which maintained by any, the Church may receive them, and keepe fellowship with them; but the ignorant¹⁷ of them after instruction and scandalous sins unrepented, exclude from the fellowship of the Church. The said Articles were to this effect: First, that there are three Persons in one God, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Spirit. twelve Articles of Religion. Secondly, that this God made, and governs all the World, and that he is a rewarder of the good, and punisher of the evill. Thirdly, that this God alone is to be worshipped. Fourthly, this worship of God is instituted in

¹⁶ The Mafs. Hist. Society's Ms. has "admission."

¹⁷ The same Ms. has "ignorance," for "ignorant."

his written Word, not the precepts of men. Fifthly, that from the fall of *Adam*, we have not so worshiped God, but have all finned, and deprived our selves of the reward promised, and therefore are under the curse by nature. Sixthly, that we are by nature utterly unable to rescue our selves from this curse. Seventhly, that Jesus Christ the eternall Sonne of God, in fulnesse of time took upon him our nature, and was made flesh for us, and by his death and sufferings, redeemed his elect from sin, and death. Eighthly, that Christ Jesus, and salvation by him,
10 is offered, and given in the | Gospell, unto every one that beleeveth in his name, and onely by such received. Ninthly, that no man can come unto Christ, nor beleieve on him, except the Father draw him by his Word and Spirit. Tenthly, whom the Lord draws to him by his Word and Spirit, them he justifies freely by his grace and according to his truth, not by works. Eleventhly, where the soule is justified, it is also regenerate and sanctified. Twelfthly, this regeneration and sanctification is still imperfect in this life. And unto all is added this generall Article, That such as walke after this rule, shall arise to everlasting life; and those that walk otherwise, shall arise to everlasting condemnation, in the day of Judgement: That the knowledge and beliefe of these are of the *foundation of Religion*: But things touching the *foundation of Churches*, as Baptisme, Imposition of hands;

ignorance in these may hinder the measure of our reward in heaven, not communion with the Church on earth.¹⁸ Exceptions against the Apostles Creed were these: That it is not of necessity to believe Christs descent into hell in any sense;¹⁹ That it is not in that Creed contained,

¹⁸ "Now, in points of doctrine some are fundamental, without right belief whereof a man cannot be saved; others are circumstantial or less principal, wherein men may differ in judgment without prejudice of salvation on either part." Cotton's *Answer to Arguments against Persecution*, etc. To this distinction, Roger Williams objected, believing that "God's people may err from the very fundamentals of visible worship," and yet be saved. *Bloudy Tenent*, ch. iv. In his Reply (*Bl. Tenent Washed*, etc., p. 5) Mr. Cotton explains, that "fundamental doctrines are of two sorts; some hold forth the foundation of Christian religion—others concern the foundation of the Church:" and that he had spoken, as above, "of the former sort of these only—the other sort I look at as less than principal, in comparison with these."—*Hans. Knolly's Soc. ed.*, pp. 19, 39.

¹⁹ The controversy on this article of belief was "plied hotly in both the universities, in 1604, and after," when Mr. Cotton was at Cambridge.—Wood's *Athenæ. Oxon.* (ed. Bliss), ii. 308. Certain sermons preached at St. Paul's Cross, London, in 1597, by

Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, in which the doctrine of Christs descent to hell was maintained, had given much offence to the Puritans; and the next year Henry Jacob published "A Treatise of the Sufferings and Victory of Christ, . . . declaring by the Scriptures . . . That Christ after his death on the Cross, went not into Hell in his Soule; contrarie to certaine Errors in these points publicly preached in London." (1598, 8vo. pp. 174.) "The Effect of certain Sermons, touching the full Redemption of Mankind by the Death and Blood of Christ Jesus," etc., was printed by Bishop Bilson, in 1599 (Lond. 4to.), and answered by Jacob, in "A Defence of a Treatise," etc. (1600, 4to. pp. 211.) At the suggestion of Queen Elizabeth, as is stated, the bishop prepared a more full and elaborate defence of his sermons, and of the doctrine in controversy, in "The Survey of Christs Sufferings for Man's Redemption and of his Descent to Hades or Hell," etc. (Lond. 1604, fol.)—Wood's *Athen. Oxon.*, ut supra, and ii. 170, 171, 309; Hanbury's *Memorials*, i. 221. Robert Parker published, in refutation of Bilson, and other assert-

that the Scripture is the onely rule of Gods worship; nor doth it so directly set forth the point of Justification.

Master *Knolls*
how admitted.

And also I remember Master *Knolles*,²⁰ now one of the Pastors at *Watertowne*, when he first came to be admitted at *Boston*, never made any mention in his profession of faith, of any Officers of the Church in particular, or their duties, and yet was received.

II
Right hand of
fellowship given
to brethren.

The party having finished his Discourses of his confession, and profession of his faith, the Elder againe speaketh to the congregation: Brethren of the congregation, if what you have heard of, [and]²¹ from this party, doe not satisfie you, as to move you to give him the *right hand of fellowship*, use your liberty, and declare your mindes therein: And then, after some silence, if none except against the parties expresseions, (as often some members doe) then the Elder proceedeth, saying, But if you are satisfied with that you have heard of, and from him, expresse your willingnesse, and consent to receive him, by your *usuall signe*, which is *erection and extention of the right hand*.²²

The whole
Church ruleth.

ers of this doctrine, "De descensus Domini nostri, Jesu Christi ad Inferos, libri quatuor, ab Hugoni Sanfondo inchoati, opera R. P. ad umbilicum perducti." (Amst. 1611, 4to.)

²⁰ Rev. John Knowles had been a fellow of Catharine Hall, Cambridge. He was admitted to the Boston

Church, Aug. 15, 1639, and was ordained at Watertown, Dec. 9, 1640. — Savage, *Geneal. Dict.*; *Winthrop*, ii. 18.

²¹ The conjunction is inserted on the authority of the M. H. S. Ms.

²² See after, p. 12, and note 25; p. 14, note 37.

This done, sometimes they proceede to admit more members, all after the same manner, for the most part, two, three, foure, or five, or more together, as they have time, spending sometimes almost a whole afternoone therein. And then the Elder calleth all them, that are to be admitted, by name, and rehearseth the covenant, on their parts, to them, which they publicly say,²³ they doe promise, by the helpe of God, to performe: And then the Elder, in the name of the Church, promiseth the Churches part of the covenant, to the new admitted members. So they are received, or admitted.

Their entrance
into Covenant.

Then they may receive the Sacrament of the Lords supper with them, and their children bee baptized, but not before: also till then they may not be free men of the Common-wealth, but being received in the Church they may.

Sometimes the Master is admitted, and not the servant, & *e contra*: the husband is received, and not the wife; and on the contrary, the child, and not the parent.

12

Severing in the
family.

Also all matters of publique offence are heard & determined in publique, before all the Church, (and strangers

Offences, how
heard in pub-
lique.

²³ Mr. Welde (Answer to W. R., 24) writes: "He [Rathband] tells us, *We hold our Church Covenant must be vocall*. . . . It's contrary (wee are sure) to our constant practise, that admits members into the Church by

a Covenant agreed to by *their silence only*: and as it is contrary to our practise, so to our writing, in the *Discourse of the Covenant*, which expressly saith, *that silent consent is sufficient*."

too in *Boston*,²⁴ not so in other places.) The party is called forth, and the matter declared and testified by two witnesses; then he is put to answer: Which finished, one of the ruling Elders asketh the *congregation if they are satisfied with the parties expressions? If they are, he requireth them to use their *liberty*, and declare their satisfaction; If not, and that they hold the party worthy of admonition or excommunication, that they witness their assent thereto by their silence.²⁵ If they be silent, the sentence is denounced. If it be for defaults in erroneous opinions only, the Teacher, they say, is to denounce

The whole Church ruling and usurping the keys.

* Whether a grave and judicious consistory of the Bishop well assisted be not a great deal better, I leave to our superiours to determine.

²⁴ "Some of our most populous Churches do no Church Act, no sort of discipline, but in the presence of the whole Towne, (non-members, as well as members) so many of them as are pleased to be present. Wayes of truth seeke no corners; if any Church admonish a brother privately, it is because his offence is not known to non-members." — Cotton, *Way cleared*, pt. i. p. 68.

²⁵ "The whole Church may be said to bind and loose, in that the Brethren consent and concur with the Elders, both before the Censure, in discerning it to be just and equall, and in declaring their discernment, by lifting up of their hands, or by silence," etc. — Cotton, *Keys*, 14. "The consent of the people gives a causal virtue to the completing of the sentence of excommunication." — Hook-

er, *Pref. to Survey*. "Its granted by Divines, there can be no proceeding to *excommunication*, but with the *tacite consent of the people*." — *Survey*, pt. i. p. 135. Comp. Cotton, *Way*, 92; *Cambr. Platform*, c. x. §§ 5, 9, 10.

A memorial presented to the court at Ipswich, by certain members of the Newbury Church, in 1669, says: "Near thirty years since, at a synod at Cambridge, it was proposed, and it was consented unto by them, that if the ministers thought it most convenient to vote by speech and silence, rather than by lifting up the hand, they had nothing against it, seeing the one was a testimony of consent as well as the other, so this kind of voting began and continued in practice without difference or interruption for a good season." — Coffin's *Newbury*, 78.

the sentence; If for matter of ill manners, the Pastor denounceth it; the ruling Elders doe not usually denounce any sentence:²⁶ But I have heard, a Captaine²⁷ delivered one to Satan, in the Church at *Dorchester*, in the absence of their Minister.

Who denounce
Church censures.

Ordinarily, matter of offence is to be brought to the Elders in private, they may not otherwise *tell the *Church* in ordinary matters, and so it hath been declared in publique, by the Pastors²⁸ of *Boston*.²⁹

De Ecclesiâ.

* This agreeth
with the rule in
England.

The admonished must, in good manners, abstain from the Communion, and must goe on to satisfie the Church, else Excommunication follows.

Admonition.

²⁶ To the contrary, Hooker (*Survey*, iii. 38,) lays down the rule, that, after the assent of the Church has been given, "the sentence, thus completely issued, is to be solemnly passed and pronounced upon the Delinquent, *by the ruling Elder*, whether it be the censure of *admonition* or *excommunication*." Cotton (*Keyes*, 22) does not discriminate, but gives to "the Elders" authority "both *jus dicere*, and *sententiam ferre*." So, the Cambridge Platform, c. vii. § 2, included with those acts of spiritual rule in which the Ruling Elders are to join with the Pastor and Teacher, that of pronouncing sentence. Comp. Cotton's *Way*, 91, 92. Winthrop, in his mention of Mrs. Hutchinson's excommunication, says that "it being for

manifest evil in matters of conversation . . . the sentence was denounced by the pastor [Mr. Wilfon], *matter of manners belonging properly to his place*." (i. 258.)

²⁷ Whose name, "Israel Stoughton," is given in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Ms.

²⁸ "Pastor." — *Mss. Hist. Soc. Ms.*

²⁹ . . . "The brother first offended telleth the church of it, to wit, in God's way: he telleth the elders, who are the mouth of the church," etc. — Cotton, *Way*, 90. "When there be Elders in a Church, all the complaints *must* be made to them, and the causes prepared and cleared, and then by their means they must be complained of to the Church." — Hooker, *Survey*, i. 134, 135; so iii. 36.

13

Excommunica-
tion.

The excommunicate is held *as an Heathen and Publican*: Yet it hath been declared at *Boſton* in divers cafes, that children may eate with their parents excommunicate;³⁰ that an elected Magiſtrate excommunicate may hold his place, but better another were choſen;³¹ that an

³⁰ Such a declaration had been made by Mr. Wilſon, after the excommunication of Mrs. Hutchinſon: "In the general, he ſaid indeed, that with excommunicate perſons no religious communion is to be held, nor any civil familiar connexion, as fitting at table. But . . . ſuch as were joined in natural or civil near relations, as parents and children, husband and wife, &c., God did allow them that liberty, which he denies to others." — Cotton's letter to Fraſ. Hutchinſon, in 2 *Maſs. Hiſt. Coll.* x. 186. Comp. Cotton, *Way*, 93, 94; Hooker, *Survey*, iii. 39; *Cambr. Platform*, c. xiv. § 5; S. Mather, *Apolo-ogy*, 108.

³¹ "Excommunication . . . toucheth not princes or magiſtrates in reſpect of their civil dignity or authority." — *Cambr. Platform*, c. xiv. § 6.

No civil diſabilities followed excommunication except diſqualification for admiſſion as a freeman. In England, even ſo late as the 53d of George III. (1813) the excommunicate was debarred from ſerving as a juryman, from bringing or maintaining actions, from appearing as a witneſs in any cauſe, from practiſing as an attorney

in any court; and from doing any act "that is required to be done by one that is *probus et legalis homo*." The excommunicate was moreover liable, after forty days, to be taken on writ *de excommunicato capiendo* (iſſued on the biſhop's certificate), and to be impriſoned in the county jail, till he ſhould be reconciled to the church. — Blackſtone, *Comment.* iii. 102.

For a ſingle year Maſſachuſetts had a law that any perſon who ſhould "ſtand excommunicate for the ſpace of ſix months, without labouring what in him or her lyeth to bee reſtored," ſhould be preſented to the Court of Aſſiſtants, and proceeded with "by fine, impriſonment, baniſhment, or *further*, for the good behaviour, as their contempt and obſtinacy, upon full hearing, ſhall deſerve." — *Maſs. Rec.*, i. 242. This law was enacted in September, 1638, and repealed September, 1639. — *Ibid.* 271.

Roger Williams (in *The Bloudy Tenent*, c. cxxviii.) mentions this "ſtrange law in New England formerly," by way of explaining a ſuppoſed reference to it in "A Model of Church and Civil Power," &c., the authorſhip of which he miſtakenly af-

hereditary Magistrate, though excommunicate, is to be obeyed still in civill things; that the excommunicate person may come and heare the Word, and be present at Prayer, so that he give not publique offence, by taking up an eminent place in the Affembly: But at *New-haven, alias Quinapeag*, where Master *Davenport* is Pastor, the excommunicate is held out of the meeting, at the doore, if he will heare, in frost, snow, and raine.³²

cribed to Mr. Cotton (see *Bloody Tenent washed*, etc., pp. 150, 192): "To give liberty to Magistrates, without exception, to punish all excommunicate persons within so many months, may" (say the writers of the Model) "prove injurious to the person who needs, to the church who may desire, and to God who calls for longer indulgence from them." Mr. Cotton's opinions on this subject may be found in his *Exposition upon Revelation*, c. xiii. (delivered, January–April, 1640): "It was a matter in question here not long agoe, whether the Court should not take a course to punish such persons as stood excommunicate out of the Church, if they should stand long excommunicate, but it was a good providence of God that such a thing was prevented: Let not any Court, *ipso facto*, take things from the Church." (p. 19.) Again, "It is dangerous to bring in civill Authority immediately upon Church-censure: A warning to us

here, that if men be excommunicated, not to deny them civill Commerce, or to say such as stand out excommunicated so long, shall no longer enjoy the priviledges of the State." (*Ibid.*, p. 238.)

³² On this, Dr. Bacon (in *Historical Discourses*, 48) remarks: "Lechford was probably lawyer enough to know that the same rule obtained in the Church of England, and that the excommunicate, besides being excluded from the place of worship, was liable to a penalty every Sunday for his constrained absence. Good old Oliver Heywood found that this was no dead letter. *Heywood's Works*, i. 100." — See the Acts of 1 Eliz., c. 2; 23 Eliz., c. 1 (imposing fines on every absentee from the parish church); and 7 Jac. I. c. 6; *Blackstone's Comment.*, iv. 52. One of the schismatical tenets for maintaining which several non-conformists of Northamptonshire were called to answer Laud's Ecclesiastical Commissioners, in 1634, was, "that

Most an-end, in the *Bay*, they use good moderation, and forbearance in their censures: Yet I have known a Gentlewoman excommunicate, for some indiscreet words, with some stiffness maintained, saying, A brother, and others, she feared, did conspire to arbitrate the price of Joyners worke of a chamber too high, and endeavouring to bring the same into civill cognizance, not proceeding to take two or three to convince the party, and so to tell the Church, (though shee first told the party of it) and this without her husband. I feare she is not yet absolved; I am sure she was not upon the third of August last, when we loosed from *Boston*.

Cognizance of
causes.

There hath been some difference about jurisdictions, or cognizance of causes: Some have held, that in causes betweene brethren of the Church, the matter should be

persons excommunicated by the ordinary, might come to church." — *Calendar of Brit. State Papers*, 1634–35, p. 411.

In 1644, Henry Glover, who had been excommunicated by the Church of New Haven, expressed a desire to be restored. "The brethren agreed that he should have liberty to speak in the afternoon," when, after the contribution was ended, "the ruling elder desired *some that stood near the door, to call in* Henry Glover." Mr. Davenport then addressed him, telling him of the law in Leviticus xiii. and xiv., concerning the cleansing of the

leper, and explained how "the leper under the law answered the state of an excommunicated person now." — *N. H. Church Rec.*, in Bacon's *Hist. Discourses*, 307–309. See, too, the reference to Mrs. Eaton's case, in Trial of Ezek. Cheever, *Coll. Conn. Hist. Society*, i. 29, 44.

The church at Boston did not debar the excommunicate from entrance into the assembly, "in time of preaching the Word, or Prayer, or such other worship of God as is, not peculiar to the church; for this liberty we do not forbid to Heathens and Indians." — Cotton's *Way*, 93.

first told the | Church, before they goe to the civill Magistrate, because all causes in difference doe amount, one way or other, to a matter of offence; and that all criminall matters concerning Church members, should be first heard by the Church. But these opinionists are held, by the wiser sort, not to know the dangerous issues and consequences of such tenets.³³ The Magistrates, and Church-leaders, labour for a just and equall correspondence in jurisdictions, not to intrench one on the other, neither the civill Magistrates to be exempt from Ecclesiasticall censure, nor the Ministers from Civill:³⁴ & whether Ec-

³³ Anthony Stoddard, one of the constables of Boston in 1641, was one of these "opinionists," as appears from *Winthrop*, ii. 39, 40. When required by Gov. Bellingham to take in custody Francis Hutchinson, he "said withal to the governour, Sir, I came to observe what you did, that if you should proceed with a brother otherwise than you ought, *I might deal with you in a church way*;" and having been committed, for this "insolent behavior," he admitted his error, "which was that he did conceive that the magistrate ought not to deal with a member of the church before the church had proceeded with him."

³⁴ The General Court, Sept. 1639, proposing to take measures for the "present reformation of immoderate great sleeves, and some other superfluities" of apparel, found "that some

[had] been grieved that such excesses were presented to the Court, which concerned the members of churches, before the parties had been dealt with at home," etc.; and thereupon, all proceedings upon such presentments were stayed, "in expectation that the officers and members of all the churches, having now clear knowledge . . . will speedily and effectually proceed against all offenders in this kind, and . . . keep the more strict watch . . . for time to come."—*Mss. Rec.*, i. 274.

In October, 1640, the elders renewed a motion which had been made at a previous Court, "that the churches might know their power and the civil magistrate his. The same had been moved by the magistrates formerly, and now at this Court they presented a writing to that effect,

clefiaticall, or Civill power firft begin to lay hold of a man, the fame to proceed, not barring the other to intermeddle.

Churches independent.

Every Church hath power of government in, and by it felfe; and no Church, or Officers, have power over one another but by way of advice or counsaile, voluntarily given or befought,³⁵ faving that the generall Court, now

to be confidered by the Court, where-in they declared that the civil magiftrate fhould not proceed againft a church member before the church had dealt with him, with fome other reftraints which the Court did not allow of. So the matter was referred to further confideration, and it appeared indeed that divers of the elders did not agree in thofe points." — *Winthrop*, ii. 16, 17.

The hiftory of this movement, and its influence in fhaping and in fecuring the adoption of the "Body of Liberties," of 1641, deferve more thorough examination than they appear hitherto to have received from hiftorians. No more difficult problem was prefented to the founders of Maffachufetts, than that of defining the limits of jurifdiction between the civil magiftracy and the churches. "It is neceffary," taught Mr. Cotton, at one of his weekly lectures, early in 1640, (after the body of laws, drawn up by a committee of the General Court had been fent to the elders and freemen of the feveral towns, for their confid-

eration,) "It is neceffary . . . that all power that is on earth be limited, church-power or other. . . . It is counted a matter of danger to the State to limit Prerogatives; but it is a further danger, not to have them limited: They will be like a Tempeft, if they be not limited. . . . It is therefore fit for every man to be ftudious of the bounds which the Lord hath fet: and for the People, in whom fundamentally all power lyes, to give as much power as God in his word gives to men: And it is meet that Magiftrates in the Common-wealth, and fo Officers in Churches fhould defire to know the utmoft bounds of their own power, and it is fafe for both;" etc. — *Expos. of 13th Chap. of Revelation*, 72.

"A Declaration of the Liberties the Lord Jefus hath given to the Churches," (comprifing eleven articles,) was incorporated in the Body of Liberties eftablifhed in 1641, — for which fee 3 *Mafs. Hift. Coll.*, viii. 234.

³⁵ "All particular Churches and all the Elders of them are of equal

and then, over-rule some Church matters: and of late, divers of the Ministerie have had set meetings to order Church matters; whereby it is conceived they bend towards Presbyterian rule.³⁶

power, each of them respectively in their own Congregation. None of them call others Rabbies, or Masters, or Fathers (in respect of any authority over them) but all of them own and acknowledge one another as fellow brethren, Matth. 23. 8, 9, 10." — Cotton, *Keyes*, p. 37. Comp. *Way cleared*, ii. 20, 21; Hooker, *Survey*, i. 219, 220; *Cambr. Platform*, c. xv. § 1.

"Beware of all secular power, and Lordly power; of such vast inspection of one church over another: . . . Leave every church Independent; not Independent from *brotherly counsel*; God forbid that we should refuse *that*; but when it comes to *power*, that one Church shall have power over the rest, then look for a Beast [Revel. xiii. 2], which the Lord would have all his people to abhor." — Cotton, *Expos. of Revel.* xiii. 30, 31.

"At all times, when a particular church shall wander out of the way, (whether out of the way of truth, or of peace) the community of churches may by no means be excused from reforming them again into their right way." — Cotton, *Keyes*, 59.

³⁶ The last three lines of this paragraph, beginning "and of late," etc., are not in the M. H. S. Ms. — The

"set meetings" of the ministers had, from the first, given offence to some who held to the absolute independence of the churches. In 1633, when "the ministers in the Bay and Sagus [Lynn] did meet, once a fortnight, at one of their houses by course, when some question of moment was debated," — the Salem pastor, Mr. Skelton, a rigid separatist, and Roger Williams (then lately returned from Plymouth, and "exercising by way of prophecy" at Salem, though not in church-office), "took some exception" to these meetings, "as fearing it might grow in time to a presbytery or superintendency to the prejudice of the Churches' liberties." — *Winthrop*, i. 116, 117. "Mr. Williams [before his banishment] had some fellowship with us," said Mr. Cotton (*Way cleared*, i. 55), "and might have had more, but that hee suspected all the *Statos conventus* of the Elders to bee unwarrantable, and such as might in time make way to a Presbyterianall government."

The "Model of Church and Civil Power," drawn up about 1635, and which appears to have had the approval of Mr. Cotton (see before, p. 13, note 31), proposes, "as the means appointed by God whereby he may me-

Difference of
rule in Churches.

In *Boston*, they rule, most an-end, by unanimous consent, if they can, both in admissions, and censures, and other things. In *Salem*, they rule by the major part of the Church: You that are so minded hold up your hands; you that are otherwise minded, hold up yours.³⁷

diately reform matters amiss in our churches," meetings, "1. Monthly of some of the *elders* and *messengers* of the churches . . . which are nearest together, and so may most conveniently assemble together; . . . [who may] consult of such things as make for the good of the churches. . . . 2. Annual, of all the *messengers* and *elders* of the churches . . . sometimes at one church, sometimes at another, . . . [to which] let all the churches send their weighty questions and cases, six weeks or a month before the set time." These assemblies, monthly and annual, were to "*do nothing by authority, but only by counsel.*" — *Bloudy Tentent*, ch. cxxix. [*Hans. Knollys Soc.*, 1848, pp. 334–6]. In this plan, Roger Williams found "a most four and uncomely deformed look of a mere human invention," and denies that "general arguments from the plausible pretence of Christian fellowship, God's glory, &c., prove such particular ways of glorifying God, without some precept or precedent of such a kind." — *Ibid.* c. cxxx–cxxxiv.

The 7th Article of the Declaration of Liberties of the Churches, adopted with the Body of Liberties in Decem-

ber, 1641, as the fundamental law of the colony, secures to the Elders "free libertie to meete monthly, quarterly, or otherwise, in convenient numbers and places, for conferences and consultations about Christian and Church questions and occasions." And the 11th Article allows and ratifies "as a lawfull libertie of the Churches," monthly meetings of the elders and any other of the brethren, of neighbouring churches, for "publique Christian Conference about the discussing and resolving of . . . doubts and cases of conscience concerning matter of doctrine or worship," . . . but "onely by way of brotherly conference and consultations." (*Body of Liberties*, 95 (7, 11); 3 *Mss. Hist. Coll.*, viii. 234, 235.) The Synod at Cambridge, in June, 1643, agreed, "That Confociation of churches, in way of more general meetings, yearly; and more privately, monthly, or quarterly; *as consultative Synods*; are very comfortable, and necessary for the peace and good of the churches." — *Letter from N. E.*, quoted in *Reply of Two Brethren to A. S.* (Lond. 1644), p. 7. See *Hanbury*, ii. 343.

³⁷ See before, p. 11, and p. 12, note

In *Boston*, when they cannot agree in a matter, they will sometimes referre it to some select brethren | to

Confitory.
A better Confit-

15

25. "Whether matters be carried amongst them by most voices or no, is not so generally agreed upon. Some affirme that the major part carries it against the lesser part, yea, though the officers be in this lesser part, and to shew strong reason to the contrary . . . Others, that the whole body must agree, else nothing proceeds. . . Some, that things are not carried by voyces at all, but by truth and right, and according to God. . . Sometimes they grant indeed all things are carried by consent of all; but they explain it thus, *viz.* . . . If the lesser party dissenting neither can give satisfaction to the greater, nor will receive satisfaction from them, but still persist in dissenting, then doe the major part (after due forbearance, and calling in the counsel of some neighbouring churches) judiciously admonish them; who being thus *under censure*, their voyce is now extinct, and made voide. And so the rest proceed to vote," etc. — [W. Rathband's] *Brief Narration of some Church Courses in N. E.*, 27, 28. *Comp. Answ. to the 32 Questions* [by Richard Mather], 58, 61. "When we say we do this or that with *common consent*, our meaning is, we do not carry on matters either by the *over-ruling power of the Presbytery*, or by the consent of the *major part* of the church; but by the gene-

rall and joynt consent of all the members . . . *ὁμοθυμαδόν*, that is, *with one accord*, Acts 2. 46, as becometh the church of God." — Cotton, *Way*, 94.

[The expedient of putting a dissenting minority under censure, by admonition, and thereby nullifying their vote, was resorted to in the Boston church, in the case of Mrs. Hutchinson. Two of her sons refusing to agree to her censure, were admonished, and the church was thereby enabled to proceed *ὁμοθυμαδόν*. — See *Winthrop*, i. 255.]

Hooker (*Survey*, iii. 40) lays down the rule that censure may be passed "*if some few should dissent*, in case their reasons be heard and answered, and they silenced by power of argument;" and that, in doubtful cases, if "the difference grow wide and great," after counsel of the neighbouring churches has been had, "either all will agree, or else *the major part of the church hath power and right to proceed*." Of his own prudent management under this rule, by which "he rarely missed of a full concurrence," and of its results, see the *Magnalia*, b. iii. pt. 1, app. § 25.

There is a touch of pathos in Cotton Mather's allusion to the trials to which the "speaking aristocracy" was occasionally subjected, by the "silent democracy" of the congregation:

ory is, and may be constituted in *England*.

Difference in number of Officers.

heare and end, or to certifie the Church, and any brethren, that will, to be present at the discusse in private.³⁸

Some Churches have no ruling Elders, some but one, some but one teaching Elder, some have two ruling, and two teaching Elders; some one, some two or three Deacons; some hold that one Minister is enough for a small number of people; No Church there hath a Deaconesse, as far as I know.³⁹

Chappels of ease.

Where farmes or villages are, as at *Rumney-marsh*⁴⁰ and *Marblehead*,⁴¹ there a Minister, or a brother of one of the

“Now tho’ this liberty of the brethren [to judge in their own church cafes], be that wherein for the most part the *repose* of the pastors has been by the compassionate wisdom of our Lord Jesus Christ provided for, yet some *trouble* sometimes has arisen to the pastors from the brethren’s abuse of their liberty, *which has call’d for much patience* in those that have the rule over them.” — *Magnalia*, b. iv. pt. 2. c. iv. § 10.

³⁸ Comp. Cotton, *Way*, 95, 96.

³⁹ See before, p. 8, note 14.

⁴⁰ Now Chelsea. No church was gathered there until 1715. Early in 1640, the owners of farms at Rumney Marsh made request to the Boston church, that John Oliver, (son of Elder Thomas,) “a gracious young man,” might be sent “to instruct [their] servants, and be a help to them, because they cannot many times come hither,

nor sometimes to Lynn, and sometimes nowhere at all.” The consent of the church was given, after some debate, and Sergeant Oliver expressed his willingness to “employ his weak talent to God’s service.” Savage, from *Keayne’s Ms.*, in note to *Winthrop*, i. 328. Mr. Oliver died in 1646, — “one who, for the sweetness of his disposition and usefulness, through a public spirit, was generally beloved, and greatly lamented.” — *Ibid.* ii. 257.

⁴¹ “Marvill Head is a place which lieth four miles full south from Salem, and is a very convenient place for a plantation, especially for such as will set upon the trade of fishing. There was made here a ship’s loading of fish the last year, where still stand the stages and drying scaffolds. Here be good harbour for boats, and safe riding for ships.” Wood, *N. E. Prof-*

congregations of *Boston* for the *Marsh*, and of *Salem* for *Marblehead*, preacheth and exerciseth prayer every Lords day, which is called prophesying in such a place. And so it was heretofore at *Mountwoollaston* within *Boston* precincts, though since it became a Church now called of *Braintree*,⁴² but before they of the mount did, and those of the *Marsh* and *Marblehead* still come and receive the Sacrament at *Boston*, and *Salem* respectively, and some of *Braintree* still receive at *Boston*.

These, you see, are necessary in England in some places.

Prophefying.

Also when a Minister preacheth abroad, in another congregation, the ruling Elder of the place, after the Psalm sung, saying publicly; If this present brother hath any word of exhortation for the people, at this time, in the name of God let him say on;⁴³ this is held proph-

Prophefying,
or
Preaching by
Licence.

pet, pt. i. c. 10. The plantation was set off from Salem, as a separate township, in 1649. Josselyn found there "a few scattered houses . . . stages for fishermen, orchards and gardens; half a mile within land, good pastures and arable land."—*Voyages*, 167.

⁴² The inhabitants of Mount Woolaston were granted town privileges, May, 1640, and the name of Braintree given.—*Mass. Rec.*, i. 291. The church was gathered September 17, 1639, when Mr. William Tompson and Mr. Henry Flint were chosen their ministers. The former was ordained November 19; Mr. Flint not until March 17, 1640. He had been

one of the signers of the remonstrance against Wheelwright's censure, but "acknowledged his failing, and desired his name might be blotted out," May, 1640. Mr. Savage suggests that his ordination at Braintree may have been postponed "to afford him liberal opportunity for this recantation." It is possible that his sin of charity, though repented of, may have left a taint of error which influenced "some of Braintree" to receive the sacrament at Boston, after the gathering of a church in their own town.—*Mass. Rec.*, i. 191; *Winthrop*, i. 196, 247, 313, 324.

⁴³ "The elders calling to them . . .

It ought not to
be otherwaies in
England.

16

efying.⁴⁴ Also the confessions or speeches made by members to be admitted, have beene by some held prophesying, and when a brother exerciseth in his | own congregation (as at *Salem*⁴⁵ they doe sometimes) taking a text of Scripture, and handling the same according to his ability. Notwithstanding, it is generally held in the *Bay*, by some of the most grave and learned men amongst them, that none should undertake to prophesie in publique, unlesse he intend the worke of the Ministry, and so in some places, as in schooles*, and not abroad, without they have both imposition of hands, and mission, or permission, because prophesie properly hath its denomination from **understanding propheticall Scriptures*, which to know discreetly to handle, requireth good learning, skill in tongues, great fidelity, and good conscience.⁴⁶

* Universities,
Cathedrals,
and Collegiat
Churches.

* 1 Cor. 13. 2.

If they have any word of exhortation to the people, to say on." — Cotton, *True Constit. of a Particular Visible Church*, p. 6.

⁴⁴ As to the distinction between "teaching by office" and "prophesying," see Ainsworth's *Counterpoysion*, 1608, pp. 174–178; Robinson's *Apolo-gy*, 1625, c. viii.; and *People's Plea for the Exercise of Prophecy*, 1618, pp. 6, 33; Cotton, *Keyes*, 20, 21 (comp. Goodwin and Nye, in *Preface*); [or, in Hanbury's *Memorials*, i. 175–6, 353, 389; ii. 263;] Bradford's *Dialogue*, in Young's *Chron. of the Pilgrims*, 419, 420.

⁴⁵ "Mr. Skelton, the pastor of Salem, and Mr. [Roger] Williams, who was removed from Plimouth thither, (but not in any office, though he exercised by way of prophecy,)" etc. — *Winthrop*, i. 117 (1633).

⁴⁶ "Though wee deny not, but in some case, some able judicious experienced Christians, may humbly and soberly, when necessity requires, as in the want of Ministers and being invited thereunto, dispencc now and then a word of exhortation to their brethren, This is farre enough from Preaching in an ordinary way [or, as W. R. had asserted,] *with all Au-*

The publique worshipe.

THE publique worship is in as faire a *meeting house* The publique worship. as they can provide, wherein, in most places, they have beene at great charges.⁴⁷ Every Sabbath or Lords

thority."—Welde's *Answer to W. R.*, 37, 38.

Mr. Cotton accorded a larger liberty: "As for the publique teaching of a private man, indued with gifts and zeal, I know not why it may not be allowed, not only in case of extreme necessity, but in some cases of expediency, as when his gifts are to be proved before he be called into office." (*Way cleared*, ii. 24.) "It is not an unheard of novelty, That God should enlarge private men with publique gifts, and that they that have received such gifts, should take liberty to dispense them unto edification." (*Ibid.* 27.) "And in this," says Gov. Bradford, "the chief of our ministers in New England agree."—*Dialogue*, &c., in Young's *Chron.* 421.

When Mr. Wilson went to England, in 1631, he commended to his church, "the exercise of prophesy in his absence, and designed those whom he thought most fit for it," namely, Gov. Winthrop, Mr. Dudley, and the ruling elder, Increase Nowell.—*Winthrop*, i. 50.

The next year, when Winthrop was in Plymouth on the Sabbath, Mr.

Roger Williams propounded a question, "according to their custom," "to which the pastor, Mr. Smith, spake briefly; then Mr. Williams prophesied," and, afterwards, Gov. Bradford, Elder Brewster, "then some two or three more of the congregation," and, by invitation, Gov. Winthrop and Mr. Wilson, spoke to the question.—*Winthrop*, i. 91, 92.

In 1634, when the people at Agawam (Ipswich) were without a minister, Gov. Winthrop "spent the Sabbath with them, and exercised by way of prophesy."—*Ibid.* i. 30.

"The practice of private members making speeches in the church assemblies, to the disturbance and hindrance of the ordinances," was one of the evils reprov'd by Mr. Rogers of Rowley, in his sermon before the Synod and the General Court, in 1647.—*Winthrop*, ii. 308.

⁴⁷ The new meeting-house in Boston was finished the year before Lechford's departure. It stood (for seventy-one years) "on the site now occupied by Joy's Building, in Washington Street, a little to the south of, and opposite to, the head of State Street."

Every Sunday
morning.

day, they come together at *Boston*, by wringing of a bell,⁴⁸ about nine of the clock or before. The Pastor begins

Drake's *Boston*, 142. It was erected at a cost of about £1000, "which was raised out of the weekly voluntary contribution, without any noise or complaint." (*Winthrop*, ii. 24.) Joshua Scottow, contrasted the "amplified and dignified" church of Boston, in his latter days, with "that little church which after seven years growth, its number (*in their mud-wall Meeting-House, with wooden Chalice*) was so small as a child might have told [counted] the whole Assembly." — *Narr. of the Planting*, &c. (4 *Mss. Hist. Coll.*, iv. 307).

⁴⁸ Boston was favored, in having a bell "to wring," in 1641, or before, — though Lechford does not tell us whether the bell was *stationary*, or *perambulatory* in the hand of a bellman. In most of the towns of New England, at this period, the summons to public worship, and to other meetings of the inhabitants, was given by beat of drum. Johnson relates, how a new-comer from England, in 1636, when near Cambridge, "hearing the sound of a Drum, . . . demands of the next man he met what the signal of the drum ment; the reply was made that they had as yet no Bell to call men to meeting; and thereupon made use of a drum." *W. W. Providence*, b. i. c. xliii. Yet Prince states, on the authority of a manuscript letter, that the Cambridge meeting-house,

built in 1632, had "a bell upon it," and Dr. Holmes thinks the statement confirmed by the town-records, which show that town-meetings were then called by the ringing of the bell. *Hist. of Cambridge; Mss. Hist. Coll.*, vii. 19. Mr. Davenport of New Haven, writing to Gov. Winthrop, October 17, 1662, mentions the sickness of his colleague, Mr. Street, who, "the last lecture day . . . purposed to preach . . . and continued in that purpose till the *second drum*, but then was compelled to take his bed." Another letter (November, 1660) gives an account of the last sickness of Gov. Newman: "My son went to him after the beating of the first drum. . . . When the second drum beat, I was sent for to him."

Hartford had a town-crier and bell-ringer as early as 1641, at least; and in 1643, the town ordered "a bell to be rung by the watch every morning, an hour before day break," and "that there should be in every house, one up, and have made some light, within one quarter of an hour after the end of the bell ringing." To devise a penalty that would insure compliance with such a requisition, in this generation, might prove a difficult problem for legislators. That Watertown had a church-bell as early as February, 1649, the payment at that time for a bell-rope, which is noted in the town

with folemn prayer continuing about a quarter of an houre. The Teacher then readeth and expoundeth a Chapter;⁴⁹ Then a Pfalme is fung, which ever one of the ruling Elders dictates.⁵⁰ After that the Pastor preacheth a Sermon,⁵¹ and sometimes *ex tempore* exhorts. Then the Teacher concludes with prayer, and a blessing.

Once a moneth is a Sacrament of the Lords Supper,⁵² Lords Supper.

records, seems to prove. (Bond's *Watertown*, 1046.)

⁴⁹ "After prayer, either the pastor or teacher readeth a chapter in the Bible, and expoundeth it."—Cotton, *Way*, 67. Comp. *True Conflit. of a Church*, 6.

"In England," wrote Lechford to a friend in 1640, "twelve or thirteen chapters and psalms are read every Sunday, in all churches, beside what is upon Wednesdays and Fridays and other holydays; but here, Scripture twice a Sunday, in any Church, upon whatsoever occasion; but preaching, and long conceived prayers."—*Ms. copy (in short-hand)*. Comp. p. 20, after.

⁵⁰ "Before Sermon, and many times, after, we sing a Psalm, and because the former translation of the Psalms doth in many things vary from the original, and many times paraphrase rather than translate; besides divers other defects (which we cover in silence) we have endeavoured a new translation of the Psalms into English

metre, as near the original as we could express it, . . . and those Psalms we sing both in our publick churches, and in private."—Cotton, *Way*, 67.

⁵¹ "In dispensing whereof, the Minister was wont to stand above all the people in a pulpit of wood, and the Elders on both sides." Cotton, *True Conflit. of a Church*, 6. "In sundry churches, the other, whether pastor or teacher, who expoundeth not, he preacheth the Word; and in the afternoon, the other who preached in the morning, doth usually (if there be time) read and preach, and he that expounded in the morning preacheth after him."—*Way*, 67.

"At Quinnipack [New Haven] Mr. Davenport preached in the forenoon that men should be uncovered, and stand up at the reading the text; and in the afternoon the assembly jointly practised it."—Mr. Hooker, in letter to Mr. Shepard, March 20, 1640 [in *Hutchinson*, i. 430, note].

⁵² Comp. Cotton, *Way*, 67-69.

- 17 whereof notice is given usually a fortnight | before, and then all others departing fave the Church, which is a great deale lesse in number then those that goe away, they receive the Sacrament, the Ministers and ruling Elders sitting at the Table, the rest in their seats, or upon forms: All cannot see the Minister consecrating, unlesse they stand up, and make a narrow shift. The one of the teaching Elders prays before, and bleffeth, and consecrates the Bread and Wine, according to the words of Infitution; the other prays after the receiving of all the members: and next Communion, they change turnes; he that began at that, ends at this: and the Ministers deliver the Bread in a Charger to some of the chiefe, and peradventure gives to a few the Bread into their hands, and they deliver the Charger from one to another, till all have eaten; in like manner the cup, till all have drank, goes from one to another. Then a Psalm is sung, and with a short blessing the congregation is dismissed. Any one, though not of the Church, may, in *Boston*, come in, and * see the Sacrament administered, if he will: ⁵³ But none of any Church in the Country may receive the Sacrament there, without leave of the congregation, for which purpose he comes

* Once I stood without one of the doores, and looked in, and saw the administration: Besides, I have had credible relation of all the particulars from some of the members.

⁵³ “ It is not true that wee hold out any at all, English or Indian, out of our Christian Congregations. All without exception are allowed to be present, at our publick Prayers and Psalmes, at our reading of the Scrip-

to one of the ruling Elders, who propounds his name to the congregation, before they goe to the Sacrament.⁵⁴

About two in the after-noone, they repara to the meeting-house againe; and then the Pastor begins, as before noone, and a Psalm being sung, the Teacher makes a Sermon. He was wont, when I came first, to read and expound a Chapter also before his Sermon in the afternoon. After and before his Sermon, he prayeth.

After that enfues Baptisme,⁵⁵ if there be any, which is

tures, and the preaching and expounding of the same, and also at the admitting of Members and dispensing of feales and censures." — Cotton, *Way cleared*, i. 69.

⁵⁴ "The members of any Church, if any be present, who bring Letters testimoniall with them to our Churches, wee admit them to the Lords Table with us, and their children also (if occasionally in their travell they be borne with us) upon like recommendation, wee admit to Baptisme." Cotton's *Way of the Churches*, 68. Compare, *Keyes*, 17; Hooker's *Survey*, iii. 28, 29, 32; *Answer to Nine Positions*, 17; *Defence of the Answer*, by Allin and Shepard, ch. iii. 2. "We hold it not unlawfull, (but doe often practise) to receive other members to communion with us without letters; especially if they bee knowne to any of our Church, else such letters are desirable." — Welde's *Answer to W. R.*, 53.

⁵⁵ Compare Cotton's *Way of the Churches*, 67, 68. Hooker (*Survey*, iii. 28) says that the Lord's Supper and Baptism "must be dispensed publicly, in the presence, and with the concurrence of the Church solemnly assembled," and should "goe hand in hand" with preaching; "after the word preached, the seals should be administered." So, the New Haven Church Catechism, by Davenport and Hooke (repr. New Haven, 1853, p. 56), in answer to the question, "How is Baptism to be administered?" I do not find, in the early authorities on Congregational order, an intimation that baptism might not rightfully be administered on any day of the week, when the Church was assembled and the word preached. See *Answer to Nine Positions*, pp. 36, 37. Mr. Ball, in the *Reply to the Answer* (p. 38), remarks incidentally, and not as if the position was a matter of controversy, "Baptisme is not tyed to the

Afternoone.

18

Baptisme.

done, by either Pastor or Teacher, in the Deacons seate, the most eminent place in the Church, next under the Elders seate. The Pastor most commonly makes a speech or exhortation to the Church, and parents concerning Baptisme, and then prayeth before and after. It is done by washing or sprinkling. One of the parents being of the Church, the childe may be baptized, and the Baptisme is into the name of the *Father*, and of the *Sonne*, and of the *holy Ghost*. No fureties are required.

Contribution.

Which ended, follows the contribution, one of the Deacons saying, Brethren of the congregation, now there is time left for contribution, wherefore as God hath prospered you, so freely offer.⁵⁶ Upon some extraordinary

first day of the week." That, in point of fact, this sacrament was *usually* — perhaps, *almost invariably* — administered on the first day, in the churches of New England, there is no room for doubt. Mr. Davenport, writing, in 1666, about the innovations which the Rev. Joseph Haynes was introducing in the church at Hartford, says, parenthetically, that he supposes baptism "was never administered, in a week day, *in that Church*, before." 3 *Mss. Hist. Coll.*, x. 61. But the "lax ways" which (in the same letter) he censured in Mr. Haynes were those which concerned the *subjects* of baptism, not merely the *time* of its administration. Mr. Davenport was a zealous "Anti-synodist," or opposer

of the Half-way Covenant. Mr. Haynes went even *beyond* the Synodists in "large Congregationalism" (as it was afterwards termed), by admitting not only the children of half-way covenanting parents, but grandchildren in right of covenanting grandparents, adopted children, servants; and slaves, in right of their adoptants and masters.

⁵⁶ "The *Deacons*, (who sit in a seate under the *Elders*, yet in sundry churches lifted up higher then the other pews,) doe call upon the people, that as God hath prospered them, and hath made their hearts willing, there is now time left for contribution."—Cotton, *Way of the Churches*, 69.

occasions, as building and repairing of Churches or meeting-houses, or other necessities, the Ministers presse a liberall contribution, with effectuall exhortations out of Scripture. The Magistrates and chiefe Gentlemen first, and then the Elders, and all the congregation of men and most of them that are not of the Church, all single persons, widows, and women in absence of their husbands, come up one after another one way, and bring their offerings to the Deacon at his seate, and put it into a box of wood for the purpose, if it bee money or | papers; if it be any other chattle, they set it or lay it downe before the Deacons, and so passe another way to their seats againe.⁵⁷ This contribution is of money, or papers, promising so much money: I have seene a faire gilt cup with a cover, offered there by one, which is still used at the Communion. Which moneys, and goods the Deacons dispose towards the maintenance of the Ministers, and the poore of the Church, and the Churches occasions, without making account, ordinarily.⁵⁸

19

⁵⁷ "The people from the highest to the lowest in sundry Churches do arise, the first pew first, the next next, and so the rest in order, and present before the Lord their holy offerings." *Ibid.* Comp. Josselyn, *Voyages*, 180. In Brewster's church at Plymouth, when Gov. Winthrop was there in 1632, "The deacon, Mr. Fuller, put the congregation in mind of their

duty of contribution; whereupon the governour and all the rest went down to the deacon's seat, and put into the box, and then returned."—*Winthrop*, i. 92.

⁵⁸ "This weekly contribution is properly intended for the poore, according to 1 Cor. 16. 1. Yet so as (if there be much given in,) some churches doe (though others do not) appoint

Differences in
contributions.

But in *Salem* Church, those onely that are of the Church, offer in publike; the rest are required to give to the Ministerie, by collection, at their houses. At some other places they make a rate upon every man, as well within, as not of the Church, residing with them, towards the Churches occasions; and others are beholding, now and then, to the generall Court, to study wayes to enforce the maintenance of the Ministerie.⁵⁹

the overplus *towards* the Ministers maintenance. 2. This is not given in by the people *according to their weekly gaine* [as Rathband had stated,] but *as God hath blessed them with an estate in the generall*. . . .

3. Nor is this dispensed to the Ministers (in those churches where any part of it is so given) though by the hands of the Deacons, yet not for proportion as they please, . . . but by the Church, who usually, twice in the year or oftener, doe meete to consult and determine of the summe to be allowed for that yeere to their Ministers, and to raise it, either from the Churches treasure . . . or by a contribution to be then made on purpose."—Welde, *Answer to W.R.*, 59.

⁵⁹ See the order of court, Sept., 1638, *Mass. Rec.*, i. 240. Mr. Cotton was not willing that the Boston Church should avail itself of any compulsory process, and taught his people, "that when magistrates are forced to provide for the maintenance of ministers, etc., then the churches are in a

declining condition;" and "he showed that the ministers' maintenance should be by voluntary contribution," &c. *Winthrop*, i. 295. When Roger Williams objected to the "constraint laid upon all consciences . . . to come to church and pay church duties," (*Bloudy Tenent*, c. lxix.) Mr. Cotton replied, "I know of no constraint at all that lieth upon the consciences of any in New England, to come to Church . . . Least of all do I know that any are constrained to pay church duties in New England. Sure I am none in our own town are constrained to pay any church duties at all. What they pay they give voluntarily, each one with his own hand, without any constraint at all but their own will, as the Lord directs them." (*Bl. Tenent Washed*, 146.) In his rejoinder, Williams says: "For a freedom of not paying in his [Mr. Cotton's] town, it is to their commendation, and God's praise. Yet who can be ignorant of the assessments upon all, in other towns," etc. (*Bl. Tenent yet*

This done, then followes admiffion of members, or hearing matters of offence, or other things, sometimes⁶⁰ till it be very late. If they have time, after this, is fung a Pfalme, and then the Paſtor concludeth with a Prayer and a bleſſing.

Admiſſions.
Offences.

Upon the week dayes, there are Lectures in divers townes,⁶¹ and in *Boston*, upon Thursdayes, when Maſter

Lectures.
Faits & Feaults.

more bloody, 216.) It is not eafy to reconcile Mr. Cotton's general denial with Winthrop's ſtatement, (ii. 93.) that ſome churches raiſed their miniſters' maintenance by taxation, "which was very offensive to ſome;" or with his account of the proſecution of "one Briſcoe of Watertown, who . . . being grieved . . . becauſe himſelf and others, who were no members, were taxed, wrote a book againſt it," which he "publiſhed underhand;" for which offence the court fined him £10, and "one of the publiſhers" £2, in March, 1643,—not long before Roger Williams failed for England (where he printed the *Bloudy Tenent*).

Hooker, (*Survey*, ii. 29, 32,) regarding it the duty of "every one that is taught" to contribute, argues that ſuch contribution ſhould be enforced, not by the civil magiſtrate, but by the diſcipline of the church. "In caſe any member ſhall fail in this free contribution, he ſinnes in a breach of the knowne rule of the Goſpell; it appertains to the Church, to ſee the Reformation of that evill, as of any other

ſcandall." And he makes it the duty of the deacon, if any member fail to perform this duty, to admoniſh, and, in caſe he reform not, to "follow the action againſt him . . . and bring him to the cenſure of the church." *Ibid.* 37.

⁶⁰ In the M.H.S. MS., the comma is placed *after* "ſometimes;" "or other things ſometimes, till," &c.

⁶¹ "So that ſuch whoſe hearts God maketh willing, and his hand doth not detain by bodily infirmities, or other neceſſary employments, (if they dwell in the heart of the Bay) may have opportunitie to heare the Word almoſt every day of the weeke in one Church or other, not farre diſtant from them." Cotton, *Way of the Churches*, 70. In 1639, "there were ſo many lectures . . . and many poor perſons would uſually reſort to two or three in the week, to the great neglect of their affairs and the damage of the public,"—that the General Court ſought a conference with the Elders "to conſider about the length and frequency of church aſſemblies," &c.

Cotton teacheth out of the *Revelation*.⁶² There are dayes
 20 of fasting, thanksgiving, | and prayers upon ^a occasions, but
 no ^b holy dayes, except the Sunday.

^a And why not
 fet fasting dayes

& times, and fet feasts, as well as fet Synods in the Reformed Churches? ^b And why not holy dayes as well as the fift of November, and the dayes of Purim among the Jews? Besides, the commemoration of the blessed and heavenly mysteries of our ever blessed Saviour, and the good examples and piety of the Saints? What time is there for the moderate recreation of youth and servants, but after divine services on most of those dayes, seeing that upon the Sunday it is justly held unlawful? And sure enough, at New-England, the Masters will and must hold their servants to their labour more then in other Countries well planted is needfull; therefore I think even they should doe well to admit of some Holy dayes too, as not a few of the wiser sort among them hold necessary and expedient.

But "this was taken in ill part by most of the elders and others of the churches," who regarded it as an infringement of their liberties, and feared it might "also raise an ill favour of the people's coldness, that would complain of much preaching," — and the magistrates "finding how hardly such propositions would be digested . . . thought it not fit to enter any dispute or conference on the subject." (*Winthrop*, i. 324, 325.) Rarely, since then, has the General Court had occasion to consider the expediency of legislating for the suppression of inordinate church-going.

⁶² Mr. Cotton's sermons upon the thirteenth chapter of the Revelation were printed in London, in 1655, from notes taken by one of his hearers. An Epistle to the Reader, by Rev. Thomas Allen (formerly of Charlestown, but then of Norwich, co. Lincoln), speaks of his having had "the happy priviledge [while living in that American wilderness . . . in the towne next adjoining to Boston,] of enjoying

the benefit of the precious labours of Mr. Cotton, in his Lecture upon every fifth day of the week;" and states that this exposition of chap. xiii. was delivered "about the 11. and 12. moneths (if I mistake not) of the year 1639, and the first and second of the year 1640." Before June, 1641, Mr. Cotton had reached the end of the 15th chapter. (*Winthrop*, ii. 30.) His Sermons on the Seven Vials, from the 16th chapter, were printed early in 1642, and the volume was received in Boston in July. (*Ibid.*, ii. 75.) "Mr. Humfrey had gotten the notes from some who had took them by characters, and printed them in London," without Mr. Cotton's consent. Was this note-taker Lechford? — "This Venerable Seer," wrote Joshua Scottow, "whose method was to go through the Books of Scripture he entred upon, and had in his Ministerial Course in both Bostons been (lengthened out to little less than forty years), went through near the whole Bible." — *Narrative of the Planting*, &c., 4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iv. 284.

In some Churches, nothing is 'read on the first day of the weeke, or Lords day, but a Psalm dictated before or after the Sermon, as at *Hingham*; there is no catechizing of children or others in any Church, (except in *Concord* Church, & in other places, of those admitted, in their receiving :) the reason given by some is, because when people come to be admitted, the Church hath tryall of their knowledge, faith, and repentance, and they want a direct Scripture for Ministers catechizing; ⁶³ as if, *Goe teach all Nations*, and *Traine up a childe in the way he should goe*, did not reach to Ministers catechizings. But, God be thanked, the generall Court was so wise, in *June* last, as to enjoyn, or take

Little reading,⁶³ catechizing.

^c Whereas in *England* every Sunday are read in publique, Chapters and Psalmes in every Church, besides the eleven or twelve Commandements,⁶⁴ Epistle and Gospell, the Creed and other good formes and catechizings, and besides what is read upon Holy dayes and other dayes both in the parish, and Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, & in the Univerſities, and other Chappels, the benefit whereof, doubtlesse, all wise men will acknowledge to be exceeding great, as well as publique preaching and expounding.

⁶³ See before, p. 16, note 49.

⁶⁴ The printer of the first edition misplaced the words "eleven or twelve," which should have been inserted, in the line above, before "Chapters." The manuscript in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society is sufficient authority, if any is required, for the correction of so obvious an error. In all the copies of the first edition which I have seen (as in that from which the Mafs. Hist. Society's reprint was made), "a pen has been carefully drawn through the words 'eleven or twelve,' and the

color of the ink shows this to have been done early." (3 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.*, iii. 79.)—For "Creed," in the third line of the note, the M.H.S. MS. has "creeds;" and, in the fifth line, after "parish," is the word "churches."

⁶⁵ "The excellent and necessary use of catechizing young men, and novices, . . . we willingly acknowledge: But little benefit have wee seene reaped from fet formes of questions, and answers devised by one Church, and imposed by necessity on another."—Cotton, *Ans. to Ball's Disc. of Set Formes of Prayer*, (London, 1642), ch. vii. p. 41.

some courfe for fuch catechizing, as I am informed, but know not the way laid down in particular, how it fhould be done.⁶⁶

21

Dayes and
moneths how
called.

They call the dayes of the weeke, beginning at the firft, fecond, third, forth, fifth, fixth, and feventh, which is Saturday: the moneths begin⁶⁷ at March, by the names of the firft, fecond, and fo forth to the twelfth, which is *February*: becaufe they would *avoid all memory* of heathenifh and idols *names*: And furely it is good to overthrow heathenifme by all good⁶⁸ wayes and meanes. But there hath not been any fent forth by any Church to learne the Natives language, or to inſtruct them in the Religion;⁶⁹

Neglect of in-
ſtructing the
Indians.

⁶⁶ "It is defired that the elders would make a catechiſme for the inſtruction of youth in the grounds of religion." (June, 1641.)—*Maſs. Rec.*, i. 328.

⁶⁷ "Beginning."—*M.H.S. MS.*

⁶⁸ The infertion of the word "good"—which is not in the M.H.S. MS.—was a judicious qualification.

⁶⁹ A few years later, the labors of Eliot, Mayhew, and their fellow-laborers, had done much to remove this reproach from the churches. Robert Baylie, the Presbyterian writer, in "*A Diffvaſive from the Errours of the Time*," printed in 1645, cites this remark of Lechford's in ſupport of his averment that the Independents of New England, "of all that ever croſſed the *American Seas*, . . . are

noted as moſt neglectful of the work of Converſion" (p. 60). Mr. Cotton, in *The Way of Congregational Churches cleared* (1648),—which was written in reply to Baylie's book,—atks, "What if there have not bin any ſent forth by any Church to learn the *Indians* language? That will not argue our neglect of minding the work of their converſion. For there be of the *Indians* that live amongſt us, and dayly reſort to us; and ſome of them learne our language; and ſome of us learn theirs. And men that love the Lord Jeſus doe gladly take opportunity to inſtruct them in our Religion, and to teach them both Law and Goſpell. And of late, the Word (as I have ſaid) is publickly preached unto them in two ſeverall

First, because they say they have not to do with them being without, unlesse they come to heare and learn English.⁷⁰ Secondly, some say out of *Rev.* 15. last,⁷¹ it is not probable that any nation more can be converted, til the calling of the Jews; *till the seven plagues finished none was able to enter into the Temple*, that is, the Christian Church, and the *seventh Viall* is not yet poured forth, and God knowes when it will bee.⁷² Thirdly, because all Churches among them are equall, and all Officers equall, and so betweene many, nothing is done that way. They must all

Indian Congregations [one neer to *Dorchester Mill*, and another in Cambridge, neer *Watertown Mill*], though wee never thought it fit to send any of our English to live amongst them, to learn their language: *for who should teach them?*—Pt. i. pp. 78, 79.

To High-Church writers, as well as to Presbyterians, Lechford's statements on this point supplied convenient matter of reproach against New England. "O that we could approve to God and our consciences that [the propagation of Christian religion] is our main motive and principal drift in our Western plantations; but how little appearance there is of this holy care and endeavour, the plaine dealer upon knowledge hath sufficiently informed us."—*Diverse Practicall Cases of Conscience Resolved* (1649), p. 323, cited by Dr. Palfrey, *Hist. of N. England*, ii. 192. (See after, p. 69, and note.)

⁷⁰ "I know not whether ever any gave him so weake an account, or no: If any so did, it was his rashnesse, or ignorance both of us, and the truth. But if the Author speake it, as a Point of our Profession or practise, that we doe neglect the instruction of the *Indians*, and especially upon such a reasonlesse reason, I will say no more to it but this, it seemeth there are two sorts of *Plain dealing*: Plain honest dealing, and Plain false dealing, of which latter sort, this speech is."—Cotton's *Way cleared*, pt. i. p. 79.

⁷¹ "Verse the last."—*M.H.S. MS.*

⁷² This was Mr. Cotton's belief. See *Winthrop*, ii. 30; (and comp. *Way of the Churches cleared*, pt. i. p. 78.) "Till the Jewes come in, there is a seale set upon the hearts of those people, as they thinke from some Apocalypticall places." *The Day-Breaking*, &c., pp. 15, 16.—Roger Williams, though (at this period) he

therefore equally beare the blame ; for indeede I humbly⁷³ conceive that by their principles, no Nation can or could ever be converted. Therefore, if so, by their principles how can any Nation be governed? They have nothing to excuse themselves in this point of not labouring with the Indians to instruct them, but their want of⁷⁴ a staple trade, and other busineses taking them up. And it is true, this may excuse *à tanto*.

22

Charity.

Of late some Churches are of opinion, that any | may be admitted to Church-fellowship, that are not extremely ignorant or scandalous: but this they are not very forward to practice, except at *Newberry*.⁷⁵ Besides, many good people scruple their Church Covenant, so highly

was more hopeful of the fruits of labors among the Indians, likewise believed "that no remarkable conversion of the nations is yet to be expected, because smoke filled the temple till Antichrist was overthrown. *Rev.* xv. 8." — *Hireling Ministry none of Christs*, p. 13; in Knowles's *Memoir of R. Williams*, 378.

⁷³ "I humbly" was substituted, on revision, for "some." — M.H.S. MS.

⁷⁴ "Their poverty, and want," &c. — *Ibid*.

⁷⁵ Where the Rev. James Noyes was pastor, and the Rev. Thomas Parker, teacher. Mr. Noyes "was jealous (if not too jealous) of particular Church-covenants. . . . He held . . . that such as show a willingness

to repent, and be baptised in the name of the Lord Jesus, without known dissimulation, are to be admitted [to Church fellowship] . . . and that God took into covenant some that were vessels of wrath, as for other ends, so to facilitate the conversion of their elect children." — *Rev. Nich. Noyes*, in the *Magnalia*, b. iii. pt. 2. ch. 25. Mr. Parker wrote to a member of the Westminster Assembly, in December, 1643, that he and his colleague held that "the rule must be so large that the weakest Christians may be received; and [that] there was according to appearance, much conjunction in this particular," among those present in the Synod at Cambridge in September. — *Hanbury's Memorials*, ii. 295.

tearmed by the most of them,⁷⁶ a part of the * Covenant of grace; and particularly, one Master *Martin*⁷⁷ for saying in argumentation, that their Church Covenant was an humane invention, and that they will not leave till it came to the sword's point, was fined ten pounds, his cow taken and sold for the money. A Minister⁷⁸ standing upon his

*The Covenant of Grace of the New Testament, it is true, makes the whole universal Church of Christ, and every part thereof, or at least belongeth thereunto: but allowing Church-
es a Covenant of

Mr. Warham, of Dorchester, and afterwards of Windfor, Conn., appears to have favored "the parish way" (as it was called) at his first coming to New England. Samuel Fuller wrote to Bradford, June, 1630, that "Mr. Warham holds that the visible church may consist of a mixed people,—godly, and openly ungodly; upon which point we all had our conference," &c. — 1 *Mss. Hist. Coll.*, iii. 74.

⁷⁶ The earlier (M.H.S.) MS. has "by them," without the words "the most of." — According to Hooker, the church-covenant is "an ordinance of the Gospel, and warranted by the Gospel, but it is *not* in propriety of speech the covenant of the Gospel." "A man may be in the covenant of grace, and share in the benefit thereof, who is not in a Church state, and a man may be in a Church state, who is not really in the Covenant of grace . . . and therefore the one is not the other." — *Survey*, i. 70, 78, 79.

⁷⁷ The M.H.S. MS. ends the paragraph abruptly with, "and Mr. Martin." The fourteen lines which follow were transferred to this place, on revision, with additions and alterations,

from another page (27) of that MS., where they follow the notice of the church at Aquedney, under the caption, "Mr. Lenthall his Controversie. Brittain whipt,"—and a marginal direction (in short-hand), "Put these notes in their proper places."

At a General Court, March 13, 1639,— "Mr. Ambros Marten [of Dorchester,] for calling the church covenant a stinking carrion & a humane invention, & saying hee wondered at God's patience, feared it would end in the sharpe, & said the ministers did dethrone Christ, & set up themselves; hee was fined 10*l*. and counfelled to go to Mr. Mather, to bee instructed by him." — *Mss. Rec.*, i. 252. See *Winthrop*, i. 289.

⁷⁸ Mr. Robert Lenthall.— See, after, p. 41, note 144; *Winthrop*, i. 287, 288; *Mss. Rec.*, i. 217, 254. Mr. Lenthall did not long remain in the Colony. In 1640, he was at Newport; admitted a freeman there Aug. 6, and employed by the town to teach a public school. He returned to England in 1641 or 1642. — Arnold's *Hist. of R. Island*, i. 145-46; Callender's *Hist. Discourse*, 62. It

Reformation tending to the better ordering and well-being of themselves, and for other politique respects, this is as much as they at New-England can justly make of their Covenant, and some that are judicious among themselves have acknowledged it: And yet, even this, unless it be made and guided by good counsell, and held with dependance and concatenation upon some Chiefe Church or Churches, may tend to much division and confusion, as is obvious to the understanding of those that are but a little versed in study of these points.

Ministry, as of the Church of *England*, and arguing against their Covenant, and being elected by some of *Weymouth* to be their Minister, was compelled to recant some words; one that made the election, & got hands to the paper, was fined 10. pounds,⁷⁹ and thereupon speaking a few cross words, 5. pound more, and payed it downe presently; Another⁸⁰ of them for saying one of the Ministers of the Bay was a Brownist, or had a Brownistical head, and for a supposed lie, was whipt: and all these by the generall or quarter civill Courts.

23

Touching the government of the Common-Weale there.

*Ecclesia reg-
nans.*

None may now be a *Freeman* of that Commonwealth, being a Societie or Corporation, named by the name of the *Governour, Deputy Governour, and Assist-*

was after his return, probably, that Lechford erased the note made in his earlier draught, — that at Aquedney, “is Mr. Lenthall, a minister out of office, and lives very poorly.” — *M. H.S. M.S.*

⁷⁹ John Smith, “a chief stirrer in the business,” was fined £20, at the March court, 1639. The fine not being paid, the May court fined him £5 for contempt, and ordered him to be imprisoned till both fines should be paid; but “on his submission, and bringing in of his money,” the court remitted £10 of the amount, “and so

only £15 was taken.” — *Mafs. Rec.*, i. 252, 254, 258; *Winthrop*, i. 288.

⁸⁰ “One of them named Brittain.” — *M.H.S. M.S.* p. 27. James Britton, “who had spoken disrespectfully of the answer which was sent to Mr. Barnard his book against our church covenant, and of some of our elders, and had sided with Mr. Lenthall, etc., was openly whipped, because he had no estate to answer, etc.” — *Winthrop*, i. 289. The whipping did not produce a thorough reformation of manners,— for Britton was hanged for adultery, March 1, 1644.— *Ibid.*, ii. 158, 159.

ants of the Societie of the Mattachusetts Bay in New England, unlesse he be a Church member amongst them. None have voice in elections of Governours, Deputy, and Assistants; none are to be Magistrates, Officers, or Jurymen, grand or petite, but *Freemen*. The Ministers give their votes in all elections of Magistrates. ⁸¹ Now the most of the persons at *New-England* are not admitted of their Church, and therefore are not *Freemen*, and when they come to be tryed there, be it for life or limb, name or estate, or whatsoever, they must bee tryed and judged too by those of the Church, who are in a fort their adversaries: how equall that hath been, or may be, some by experience doe know, others may judge.

The manner of the elections is this: At first, the chiefe Governour and Magistrates were chosen in *London*, by erection of hands, by all the *Free-men* of this *Society*. Since the transmitting of the Patent into *New-England*, the election is not by voices, nor erection of hands, but by papers, ⁸² thus:

Elections of the
Governour &
chiefe Magistrates.

⁸¹ The seven lines which follow (to the end of the paragraph) are not in the M.H.S. MS.

⁸² After the transfer of the government to New England, election of governor and assistants continued to be made "by erection of hands" until 1634, when Dudley was chosen in the place of Winthrop, "by papers." — *Winthrop*, i. 132. "This is the

first instance of an election by ballot. It would have been hard for the freemen to nerve themselves to the point of displacing their old benefactor by the customary "erection of hands." — Palfrey, *Hist. of N. England*, i. 375.

In September, 1635, the General Court ordered, "that, hereafter, the deputies to be chosen for the Generall Courts shalbe elected by papers, as

24 The generall Court-electory fitting, where are present in the Church, or meeting-houſe at | *Boston*, the old Governour, Deputy, and all the Magiſtrates, and two Deputies or Burgeſſes for every towne, or at leaſt one, all the *Freemen* are bidden to come in at one doore, and bring their votes in paper, for the new Governour, and deliver them downe upon the table, before the Court, and ſo to paſſe forth at another doore. Thoſe that are abſent, ſend their votes by proxies.⁸³ All being delivered in, the votes are counted, and according to the major part, the old Governour pronounceth, that ſuch an one is choſen Governour for the yeare enſuing. Then the *Freemen*, in like manner, bring their votes for the Deputy Governour, who being alſo choſen, the Governour propoundeth the Aſſiſtants one after the other. New Aſſiſtants are, of late, put in nomination, by an order of general Court, beforehand to be conſidered of:⁸⁴ If a *Freeman* give in a

the Governor is choſen.” — *Maſs. Col. Records*, i. 157.

⁸³ In March, 1636, liberty was granted to ſuch freemen as, for the ſafety of their towns, ſhould be detained at home on the day of election, “to ſend their voices by proxy.” The next year, it was made “free and lawfull for all freemen to ſend their votes for elections by proxy the next General Courte in May, and ſo for hereafter.” — *Winthrop*, i. 185; *Maſs. Records*, i. 166, 188.

⁸⁴ *Maſs. Records*, i. 293. This order, giving the nomination of new aſſiſtants to the freemen, was made at the General Court in May, 1640, after the election of Dudley. The year previous, the governor (Winthrop) and magiſtrates had given offence to the freemen by nominating Emanuel Downing (Winthrop’s brother-in-law) and two others for election as aſſiſtants. A ſuſpicion “that the magiſtrates intended to make themſelves ſtronger, and the deputies weaker,

blanck, that rejects the man named; if the *Freeman* makes any mark with a pen upon the paper which he brings, that elects the man named; then the blancks and marked papers are numbred, and according to the major part of either, the man in nomination stands elected or rejected. And so for all the Assistants. And after every new election, which is, by their Patent, to be upon the last Wednesday in every Easter Terme,⁸⁵ the new Governour and Officers are all new sworn. The Governour and Assistants choose the Secretary. And all the Court consisting of Governour, Deputy, Assistants, and Deputies of towns, give their votes as well as the rest; and the *Ministers*, | and *Elders*, and all *Church-officers*, have their *votes* also in all these elections of chiefe Magistrates. Constables, and all other inferiour Officers, are sworn in the generall, quarter, or other Courts, or before any Assistant.

25

Every *Free-man*, when he is admitted, takes a strict oath, to be true to the Society, or jurisdiction: In which

Freemen their oath.

and so, in time, to bring all power into [their own] hands," occasioned some opposition to Winthrop's re-election in 1639, and doubtless contributed to effect his displacement in 1640.—*Winthrop*, i. 299, 300; ii. 342-3.

In *Mas. Rec.*, i. 308, is a list of persons "propounded for magistrates" by the freemen, in October, 1640; with the number of votes by which they were respectively nominated.

⁸⁵ Before the act of 11 George IV.

and 1 William IV. c. 70, (1830.) Easter term of court began two weeks from the Wednesday after Easter Sunday, and ended three weeks from the Monday following. The beginning of the term, varying as Easter fell earlier or later, ranged from April 8 to May 12; and the last Wednesday, from April 29 to June 2.—By the Massachusetts charter of 1691, the last Wednesday of May was established as the day of election.

oath, I doe not remember exprest that ordinary faving, which is and ought to be in all oathes to other Lords, *Saving the faith and truth which I beare to our Sovereigne Lord the King*, though, I hope, it may be implied.

Courts and Laws.

There are two generall Courts, one every halfe yeare, wherein they make Lawes or Ordinances: The Ministers advise in making of Lawes, especially Ecclesiasticall, and are present in Courts, and advise in⁸⁶ some speciall causes criminall, and in framing of Fundamentall Lawes: But not many Fundamentall Lawes are yet established: which, when they doe, they must, by the words of their Charter, make according to the Lawes of *England*, or not contrary thereunto.⁸⁷ Here they make taxes and levies.

⁸⁶ For "advise in," the M.H.S. MS. has, "in hearing."

⁸⁷ This was one of the "great reasons . . . which caused most of the magistrates and some of the elders not to be very forward in this matter" of fundamental laws; "for that it would professedly transgress the limits of our charter, which provide, we shall make no laws repugnant to the laws of England, and *that we were assured we must do*. But *to raise up laws by practice and custom* had been no transgression; as in our church discipline," &c. (*Winthrop*, i. 323.) The "Body of Liberties," adopted December, 1641, was so framed as, if possible, to avoid this difficulty. They were "expressed only under the name

and title of *Liberties*, and not in the exact form of *Laws* or Statutes," and the General Court did not *enact* them, but "with one consent fully authorize and earnestly entreat all that are and shall be in authority to *consider them as laws*," and not to fail to inflict punishment for every violation of them. — *Lib.* 96; 3 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.*, viii. 236.

At a later period, when the ascendancy of the parliament was established, and Massachusetts was for the time relieved from apprehension of the loss of her charter, the General Court denied, with less reserve, the authority of the laws of England. They "did ever honor the parliament, and were ready to perform all due

There are besides foure quarter Courts for the whole Jurisdiction, besides other petie Courts, one every quarter, at *Boston*, *Salem*, and *Ipswich*, with their severall jurisdictions, besides every towne, almost, hath a petie Court for small debts, and trespasses under twenty shillings.

In the generall Court, or great quarter Courts, before the Civill Magistrates, are tryed | all actions and causes
civill and criminall, and also Ecclesiasticall, especially
touching non-members: ⁸⁸And they themselves say, that
in the generall and quarter Courts, they have the power
of Parliament, Kings Bench, Common Pleas, Chancery,
High Commiffion, and Star-chamber, and all other Courts
of England, and in divers cases have exercised that power
upon the Kings Subjects there, as is not difficult to prove.
They have put to death, banished, fined men, cut off
mens eares, whipt, imprisoned men, and all these for Ec-
clesiasticall and Civill offences, and without sufficient re-
cord. In the lesser quarter Courts are tryed, in some,
actions under ten pound, in *Boston*,⁸⁹ under twenty, and

Actions and
causes.

26

obedience, etc., to them according to our charter, etc.;" but they rebuked Dr. Childs and his fellow-petitioners in 1646, who "did impudently and falsely affirm, that we are obliged to those laws [of England] by our general charter and oath of allegiance," (*Winthrop*, ii. 285, 288,) and they explicitly declared, "our allegiance

binds us not to the laws of England any longer than while we live in England, for the laws of the parliament of England reach no further," &c. — *Ibid.* 288.

⁸⁸ The nine lines following (ending with "sufficient record") are not in the M.H.S. MS.

⁸⁹ *Mass. Rec.*, i. 169, 276.

all criminall caufes not touching life or member. ⁹⁰From the petie quarter Courts, or other Court, the parties may appeale to the great quarter Courts, from thence to the generall Court, from which there is no appeale, they fay: Notwithstanding, I prefume their Patent doth referve and provide for Appeales, in fome cafes, to the Kings Majesty.

Grand Juries.

The generall and great quarter Courts are kept in the Church meeting-houfe at *Boston*. Twice a yeare, in the faid great quarter Courts held before the generall Courts, are two grand Juries fworne for the Jurifdiction, one for one Court, and the other for the other, and they are charged to enquire and prefent offences reduced, by the Governour, who gives the charge, moft an-end, under the Heads of the *ten Commandments*: | ⁹¹And a draught of

⁹⁰ Five lines following ("From the petie . . . Kings Majesty.") are not in the M.H.S. MS.—When Dr. Child and his fellow-petitioners demanded an appeal to England, in 1646, Gov. Winthrop "told them he would admit no appeal, nor was it allowed by our charter;" and the Court fustained his judgment.—*Winthrop*, ii. 285, 290.

⁹¹ Thirteen lines following (to the end of the paragraph) are not in the M.H.S. MS.

At least two draughts of a body of fundamental laws had been prefented to the General Court: one by Mr. Cotton, in October, 1636,— "a copy of Mofes his judicials, compiled in an

exact method," (*Winthrop*, i. 202,)— which is perhaps the fame that was again prefented to the November Court in 1639, and printed in England in 1641, as "An Abſtraſt of the Laws of New England as they are now eſtabliſhed," (repr., 1 *Maſs. Hiſt. Coll.*, v. 171-192.) and in a more complete form, by William Aſpinwall, in 1655; and another, framed by Nathaniel Ward, prefented November, 1639, and, with Mr. Cotton's, referred by the Court to the governor and others "to conſider of, and fo prepare it for the" May Court, 1640.—*Winthrop*, i. 322. Theſe "two models were digeſted with divers alterations and additions, and abbreviated, and ſent to every town

a body of fundamentall laws, according to the judiciall Laws of the Jews, hath been contrived by the *Ministers* and *Magistrates*, and offered to the generall Court to be established and published to the people to be considered of, and this since his Majesties command came to them to send over their Patent:⁹² Among which Lawes, that was one I excepted against, as you may see in the paper following, entituled, *Of the Church her liberties, presented to the Governour and Magistrates of the Bay*, 4. *Martii*, 1639.⁹³ Notwithstanding, a by-law, to that or the like

(12), to be considered of first by the magistrates and elders, and then to be published by the constables to all the people," &c.—*Ibid.* Comp. *Mafs. Rec.*, i. 379. Lechford was employed to transcribe the "breviats of propositions" to be sent to the towns, (see p. 31, *post*.) and his Journal shows that in January, 1639-40, he made for the governor "a coppie of the Abstract of the Lawes of New England," and numerous copies of "the Lawes for the Country" and "the Breviat of the body of Lawes," in January and February. Mr. Ward wrote to Winthrop, Dec. 22, 1639: "Yf Mr. Lachford have writt them out, I would be glad to peruse one of his copies if I may receive them."—4 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.*, vii. 27. Mr. Gray, in his excellent paper on the Early Laws of Massachusetts, in 3 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.*, viii. attributing the composition of the Body of Liberties to Ward, (on the

authority of Winthrop, ii. 55,) remarks, that it "exhibits throughout the hand of the practised lawyer, familiar with the principles and the securities of English Liberty." (p. 199.) Without detracting from whatever honor may be due to Mr. Ward for his first draught, it is very possible that while Lechford was transcribing the much revised and amended "breviats," the "hand of a practised lawyer" left some of its traces on his work.

⁹² The lords commissioners for foreign plantations ordered, April 4, 1638, that the patent should be sent over to them by the first ship. The demand was renewed the next year; and a letter from Mr. Cradock, enclosing the order, was received by Winthrop before the meeting of the May Court.—*Winthrop*, i. 269, 274, 299; *Hubbard*, 268-271. See p. 34, *post*, and note 103.

⁹³ See p. 31, *post*.

effect, hath been made,⁹⁴ and was held of force there when I came thence: yet I confesse I have heard one of their wisest speak of an intention to repeale the same Law.

Fryals.

Matters of debt, trespassse, and upon the case, and equity, yea and of heresie also, are tryed by a Jury. Which although it may seeme to be indifferent, and the Magistrates may judge what is Law, and what is equall, and some of the chief Ministers informe what is heresie, yet the Jury may find a generall verdict, if they please; and seldom is there any speciall verdict found by them, with deliberate arguments made thereupon, which breeds many inconveniences.

The parties are warned to challenge any Juryman before he be sworn; but because there is but one Jury in a Court for tryall of causes, and all parties not present at their swearing, the liberty of challenge is much hindred,⁹⁵

⁹⁴ March, 1635-6. — *Mafs. Rec.*, i. 163.

⁹⁵ The hinderance was not entirely removed by the Body of Liberties, which secured the right of challenge in all cases; but the challenge was not to be allowed unless the other jurors, or the bench (as the challenger might elect), should find it "just and reasonable." — 3 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.*, viii. 221.

There was another hinderance to the freedom of challenge which Lechford omits to mention. The wife of Francis Weston, of Salem, was brought

before the church, in 1637, on the charge, that, "when a matter of difference between her and another was at the Court put unto the Jury, she excepted against two of the jury men," (members of the same church with herself,) "who were therefore offended, and with them others also;" and she was instructed, that, although the law grants such exception in case of consanguinity or some nigh relation, the ground or reason must be showed to the judge of the court. And her allegation that one of the challenged

and some inconveniences doe happen thereby. Jurors are returned | by the Marshall, he was at first called the Bedle⁹⁶ of the Societie. Seldome is there any matter of record, faving the verdict many times at randome taken and entred, which is also called the judgment. ⁹⁷And for want of proceeding duly upon record, the government is cleerely arbitrary, according to the discretions of the Judges and Magistrates for the time being. And humbly I appeale to his royall Majesty, and his honourable and great Counsell, whether or no the proceedings in such matters as come to be heard before Ecclesiasticall Judges, be not fit to be upon Record; and whether Registers, Advocates, and Procurators, be not necessary to assist the poore and unlearned in their causes, and that according to the warrant and intendment of holy Writ, and of right reason. I have knowne by experience, and heard divers have suffered wrong by default of such in *New-England*. I feare it is not a little degree of pride and dangerous im-

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jurors was "all one with the party against her" appears to have been regarded as an aggravation of her offence.—*Rev. John Fisk's Notes*, in *Coll. Essex Institute*, i. 40, 41.

⁹⁶ The title of this officer was changed by the General Court, September, 1634, when James Penn, who had been appointed in 1630 "a beadle to attend upon the governor," &c., was granted a salary of £20; "his office to

be Marshall of the Court."—*Mss. Rec.*, i. 74, 128. His successor was Edward Michelson, of Cambridge, appointed November, 1637.—*Ib.* 217.

⁹⁷ What follows, to the end of the paragraph, (twenty lines,) is not found in the M.H.S. MS., at the corresponding page, but is written in shorthand, as a marginal note, on p. 9, of the MS., corresponding to pp. 12, 13, of the first edition.

providence to flight all former lawes of the Church or State, cafes of experience and precedents, to go hammer out new, according to severall exigencies; upon pretence that the Word of God is sufficient to rule us: It is true, it is sufficient, if well understood. But take heede my brethren, despise not learning, nor the worthy Lawyers of either gown, lest you repent too late.⁹⁸

⁹⁸ Lechford — forbidden “to plead any man’s cause except his own,” and only escaping the Court’s censure by “promising to attend his calling, and *not to meddle with controversies*,” — had reason to speak feelingly of the small esteem had for the legal profession in Massachusetts. There was very little encouragement for the future in the “Body of Liberties,” which permitted “every man that findeth himself unfit to plead his own cause in any court,” to employ any man against whom the court doth not except, to help him, *provided he give him no fee or reward for his pains*.” — *Lib.* 26; 3 *Mss. Hist. Coll.*, viii. 220.

Mr. Cotton, in a sermon delivered early in 1640, took occasion, by way of “use,” to drop a word of “reproof to unconscionable Advocates;” such as “bolster out a bad case by quirks of wit, and tricks and quillets of Law.” . . . “And for men that profess Religion (as many Lawyers do) to use their tongues as weapons of unrighteousness unto wickedness . . . to

plead in corrupt Causes, and to strain the Law to that purpose, were I to speake in place where [such are?] I should think it meet to speak more.” But, he remarks, “I have not I thinke so much cause to speak of it here, but in most places of the world I might speak of it.” — *Expos. of 13th Chap. of Revelation*, p. 163.

Mr. Ward, preaching before the General Court, in May, 1641, advised “that magistrates should not give private advice, and take knowledge of any man’s cause before it came to public hearing. This was debated after in the General Court;” but some of the magistrates opposed the making a law to this effect, for divers reasons. “1. Because we must then provide lawyers to direct men in their causes. . . . 4. [The private hearing by a magistrate] prevents many difficulties and tediousness to the court to understand the cause aright (*no advocate being allowed*, and the parties being not able, for the most part, to open the cause fully and clearly, especially in public).” — *Winthrop*, ii. 36.

The parties in all causes, speake themselves for the most part, and some of the Magistrates where they thinke cause requireth, doe the part of Advocates without fee or reward. Most matters | are presently heard, and ended the same Court, the party defendant having foure dayes warning before; but some causes come to be heard again, and new suits grow upon the old.

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Profane swearing, drunkenesse, and beggers, are but rare in the compasse of this Patent,⁹⁹ through the circumspection of the Magistrates, and the providence of God hitherto, the poore there living by their labours, and great wages, proportionably, better then the rich, by their stocks, which without exceeding great care, quickly waste.

Prophanesse
beaten downe

A Paper of certaine Propositions to the generall Court, made upon request, 8. Iunii, 1639.

I. IT were good, that all actions betweene parties, were entred in the Court book, by the Secretary, before the Court sits.

⁹⁹ "One may live there from year to year, and not see a drunkard, hear an oath, or meet a beggar." — *New England's First Fruits*. "In seven years, among thousands there dwelling, I never saw any drunk, nor heard an oath, nor [saw] any begging, nor Sabbath broken." — Hugh Peters, *Cafe impartially communicated*, &c. (1660). "I thank God, I have lived in a Colony of many thousand English al-

most these twelve yeares; am held a very sociable man; yet I may considerably say, I never heard but one Oath sworne, nor never saw one man drunk, nor ever heard of three women Adulteresses, in all this time, that I can call to minde." — Ward's *Simple Cobbler of Agawam* (1647) p. 67. "There are none that beg, in the Countrey." — Josselyn, *Voyages*, 182.

2. That every action be declared in writing, and the defendants answer, generall or speciall, as the case shall require, be put in writing, by a publique Notarie, before the cause be heard.

3. The Secretary to take the verdicts, and make forth the judiciall Commands or Writs.

4. The publique Notarie to record all the proceedings in a fair book, and to enter executions of commands done, & satisfactions acknowledged.

5. The fees, in all these, to be no more then in an inferiour Court of Record in *England*, and to be allowed by the generall Court, or Court of Assistants.

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The benefit hereof to the publique good.

1. **I**T will give an easie and quick dispatch to all Causes: For thereby the Court and Jury will quickly see the point in hand, and accordingly give their verdict and judgment.

2. The Court shall the better know, constantly, how to judge the same things; and it is not possible, that the Judges should, alwayes, from time to time, remember clearly, or know to proceed certainly, without a faithfull Record.

3. The parties may hereby more surely, and clearly obtaine their right; for through ignorance and passion, men may quickly wrong one another, in their bare words, without a Record.

4. Hereby fhall the Law of God and Juſtice be duly adminiſtred to the people, according to more certaine and unchangeable rules, ſo that they might know what is the Law, and what right they may look for at the mouthes of all their Judges.

5. Hereby the Subjects have a great part of their evidences and aſſurances for their proprieties, both of lands and goods.¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ What appears to be the original draught of theſe propoſitions, with numerous erasures and amendments, is in Lechford's Journal, p. 57. He had there added, under the head of "The benefit hereof" &c., a *ſixth* conſideration: —

"The people may alſo uſe the publique notary in divers caſes, to the eaſe of the magiſtrates, and for making ſeverall writings, etc."

Immediately after theſe propoſitions, the writer made this note, in ſhort-hand: —

"The Court was willing to beſtow employment upon me, but they ſaid to me that they could not doe it for feare of offending the Churches, becauſe of my opinions. Whereupon I thought good to propoſe unto them as followeth, over the leaf," — where he has inſerted "Certaine Propoſitions to the Generall Court, 11. 4. 1639," which are printed in the Introduction to this volume.

Though the Court did not ſee fit

to conſtitute the office of public notary, and to give Lechford the employment which he fought, the value of his ſuggeſtions was appreciated, and at the next Seſſion (September, 1639), orders were made for recording judgments, "with all the evidence," — "wills, adminiſtrations and inventories, as alſo of the dayes of every marriage, birth and death," — "all men's houſes and lands," — and "all the purchaſes of the natives." Lechford's ſchiſmatical opinions on prophesying in the churches and the poſſibility of a coming Antichriſt, continued to diſqualify him for the public ſervice; and the Court inſured the orthodoxy of the records by appointing Steven Winthrop (the governor's fourth ſon) "to record things," and the next year (October, 1640) choſe Emanuel Downing to enter all bargains and ſales of land, &c., at Salem, and Samuel Symonds at Ipſwich. — *Maſs. Records*, i. 275-6, 306.

- 3¹ *A Paper touching the Church her liberties, delivered at Boston, 4. Martii, 1639.*

To the Right Worshipfull the Governour, Deputy Governour, Councillers, and Assistants, for this Jurisdiction.

WHereas you have been pleased to cause me to transcribe certain Breviats of Propositions,¹⁰¹ delivered to the last generall Court, for the establishing a body of Lawes, as is intended, for the glory of God, and the welfare of this People and Country; and published the same, to the intent that any man may acquaint you, or the Deputies for the next Court, with what he conceives fit to be altered or added, in or unto the said lawes; I conceive it my duty to give you timely notice of some things of great moment, about the same Lawes, in discharge of my conscience, which I shall, as *Amicus curiæ*, pray you to present with all faithfulness, as is proposed, to the next

¹⁰¹ See before, p. 27, and note 91. Lechford's account-book and journal show that he delivered twelve copies of "the Lawes for the Country" in December, 1639; "Five copies more . . . by the direction of our Governor, 11. 8. 1639; seven of them (and the former) had 3 lawes more added;" "A coppie of the Abstræct of the Lawes of New England d^d to the Governor, 11. 15. 1639:" [Was this Mr. Cotton's, printed under the same title in 1641?] "A copy of the breviat

of the body of Lawes for the Country, 12. 5. 1639:" "Three coppies of the said breviat delivered to the Governor, besides the first, 12. 12. 1639:" "One copy dd to Mr. B[ellingham?]:" "One copy . . . delivered to Mr. Bellingham, wth one copy of the originall Institution and Limitation of the Counsell, at 4^s and 2^s, 12. 17. 1639:" and, near the end of the same month (February, 1640), "Seven coppies more of the said breviat."

generall Court, by it, and the reverend Elders, to be further confidered of, as followeth :¹⁰²

1. It is propounded to be one chiefe part of the charge, or office of the Councell intended, to take care that the *conversion* of the *Natives* be endeavoured.

2. It is proposed, as a liberty, that a convenient * number of Orthodoxe Christians, | allowed to plant together in this Jurisdiction, may gather themselves into a Church, and elect and ordaine their Officers, men fit for their

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* Although some have held that three or two may make a

Church, yet I have heard Master Cotton say, that a Church could not be without the number of fixe or seaven at least, and so was their practise while I was there, at *Weymouth*, and *New Taunton*, and at *Lin*, for *Long Island*; Because if there are but three, one that is offended with another, cannot upon cause tel the Church, but one man.¹⁰²

¹⁰² The clause to which Lechford objects, and which agrees in substance with a provision of the order of March, 1636, (*Mass. Rec.*, i. 168,) is not found in the Body of Liberties, as printed by Mr. Gray, 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, viii., from the MS. copy in the Athenæum. It may have been omitted on the revision of these laws in December, 1641, (*Winthrop*, ii. 55.) or on the subsequent revision made by order of the Court in 1644, by Winthrop, Dudley, and Hibbens. (*Mass. Rec.*, ii. 61.) The "Declaration of the Liberties given to the Churches," (*Body of Lib.*, 96, §1.) affirms to "all the people of God within this Jurisdiction who are not in a church way, and be orthodox in judgment . . . full libertie to gather themselves into a Church estate. *Provided* they do it *in a Christian way*, with due observance of the rules of Christ,"

etc. *Lib.* 58 declares that "the Civill Authoritie hath power and libertie to see the peace, ordinances and Rules of Christ observed in every Church, according to his word, so it be done in a civil and not in an ecclesiasticall way."

In Welde's *Answer to W. Rathband*, (Lond., 1644,) he says, "There was a time in *New-England* (for some few years space) before such a law was made, and then Churches did use to gather without any notice given to Magistrates or other Churches. But after the opinions grew on, and experience discovered the danger, there was a law made that none must constitute any Church but first give notice thereof to Magistrates and Churches, and since that this course is duly observed." P. 32.

¹⁰² See Cotton's *Way of the Churches*, p. 53.

places, giving notice to seven of the next Churches, one moneth before thereof, and of their names, and that they may exercise all the ordinances of God according to his Word, and so they proceede according to the rule of God, and shall not be hindered by any Civill power; nor will this Court allow of any Church otherwise gathered.

This clause (*nor will the Court allow of any Church otherwise gathered*) doth as I conceive contradict the first proposition.

My reasons are these.

1. If the *conversion of the Natives* must be endeavoured, then some wise and godly men (they should be of your *gravest and best men*) must be sent forth to teach them to know God.

2. When such are sent, they must be either sent immediately by the Lord, or mediately by his Churches.

3. If the Churches send men, they that are sent must be sent by imposition of *hands of the Presbyterie*.

33

Now when Churches are thus gathered or planted, they are gathered by Ministers, doing the works of Apostles and Evangelists, which hath ever been, and is the ordinary and regular way of gathering or planting Churches, (and not as is proposed, a convenient number of Orthodoxe Christians, gathering themselves into a Church) and yet when such a Church is gathered by

Church-messengers and Ministers, this Court is advised not to allow the same; which, I conceive, is to say, The conversion of the Natives shall not be endeavoured, orderly, according to the rule of God.

Again, it would be considered, that when men are sent forth, whether they should not be sent forth *two*, and by *two* at least, as the Scriptures beare, and for divers good reasons, which lye not hid to your wisdoms.

That you would be pleased to shew unto the Elders these things to be considered, and that they would well weigh, whether or no those Ministers and Messengers sent by Churches, should not visit the Churches which they plant?

Other things there are, wherein, I think, I could also, to good purpose, move somewhat to your Worships, which lyes more directly in the way, and calling, I have been educated, if I were required, but this thing lying upon my conscience, I could not well passe by: Wherefore I shall request it may be considered.

1. Whether it be not fit to leave out, at least, | that contradictory clause, *viz. Nor will this Court allow of any Church otherwise gathered?*

34

2. Whether it be not better to let the liberty run thus, in generall,

The holy Church of God shall enjoy all her just liberties?

A Paper intended for the honoured John Winthrop, Esquire, late Governour. Boston, Maii 2. 1640.

IF you see a necessity of *baptizing* them without, If an ingagement of *Propagation* of the truth to the Infidel *Natives*:

Then consider, whether by the Kings leave, some Churches may not be appointed to send their chiefe Pastors, and other Ministers, to doe such works.

Also, with some kind of subjection, or acknowledgement of authority of the Ministerie in *England*, if it be but by way of advice, which is cleare to me you may doe:

I make no doubt but in all things requisite for the state of the Country, they will yeeld you all faire liberties.

Nay, I am perswaded, the Kings Majesty will not send any unexperienced Governour to afflict, but make you Patentees againe, or at least, after the manner of other Plantations, restoring not onely favour, but other benefits, whereof, under God, to us *Englishmen*, he is the Fountaine. The Kings Attorney did offer some of you this in my hearing, I meane, the renewall of your Patent.¹⁰³

¹⁰³ When and where could this offer have been made, in Lechford's hearing? The demand for the return of the patent to England, made by the Commissioners for the plantations, April 4, 1638, was communicated to Gov. Winthrop by letter from Thomas

Mewtis, clerk of the Council. The repetition of the demand, in 1639, with "threats of further course to be taken" in the event of non-compliance, was received in a letter from Mr. Cradock, and "not being delivered by a *certain messenger, as the for-*

Nay further, if you would invent, and devise what the King may doe for the Country, you might obtaine. 35

The very conversion of these poore naked people, which is very hopefull, and much prepared for *per accidens*, or Gods owne providence, bringing good out of evill, will rejoyce the hearts of all Christians in our deare native Countrey, and here: and of it selfe (if there were no other desirable things here, as blessed be God there are many) would cause a continued confluence of more people then you can tell well where to bestow for the present.

The Fishing trade would be promoted with authority.

Hereby would you give the greater testimony to the cause of Reformation.

Hereby will you, under God and the King, make

mer was," no reply was returned, and precautions were taken that the commissioners "could not have any proof that it was delivered to the governor." *Winthrop*, i. 269, 274, 299; *Hubbard*, 268-271; 4 *Mss. Hist. Coll.*, vi. 129. Winthrop and the records are silent as to any subsequent renewal of the demand, or any interview with "the King's Attorney." It is possible that Lechford alludes to something which passed in England, on the trial of the *quo warranto*, or after judgment was rendered against the patentees, in 1636, and before his coming to this country.

Who was the "certain messenger" to New England in 1638, we are not told. There is, at least, ground for conjecture, that John Josselyn, Gent, who failed from London three weeks after the date of the Commissioners' order, landed at Noddle's Island, and was the guest of Maverick July 10, went to Boston the day following, and "presented his respects to Mr. Winthrop the Governour, and to Mr. Cotton," and next morning failed for Black Point, in Maine, (*Voyages*, 1, 12, 20,) and who was in the interest of Sir Ferd. Gorges, — was charged with this service.

Church-work, and Common-wealth work indeed, and examples to all Countryes.

You will enrich your Countries both, in fhort time. The Heathens in time, I am perfwaded, will become zealous Chriftians, then will they labour, get cloathes, and fubftance about them. In vaine doe fome think of civilizing them, either by the fword, or otherwife, till (withall) the Word of God hath fpoken to their hearts: wherein I conceive great advice is to be taken.

For which purpofe a Preffe is neceffary,¹⁰⁴ and may be obtained, I hope, fo that wife men watch over it.

36 Confider how poorely your Schooles goe on, | you muft depend upon *England* for help of learned men and Schollers, bookes, commodities infinite almoft.

No doubt but the King, this way, will make your authority reach even to the Dutch Southward, and to the French Northward. *New-England* indeede without fraction. A facile way, taking out the core of malice.

The converfion and fubduing of a Nation, and fo great a tract of ground, is a work too weighty for fubjects any much longer to labour under without Royall affiftance, as I apprehend, I think, in religious reafon.

¹⁰⁴ The prefs was already obtained, thanks to the liberality and foresight of Rev. Joffe Glover. — *Winthrop*, i. 289. "Wee have a printery here," wrote Hugh Peters, Dec. 10, 1638, "and thinke to goe to worke with

fome fpeciall things." — 4 *Mafs. Hift. Coll.*, vi. 99. The "Book of Pfalmes" bears the imprint of 1640, and muft have been in prefs, if not completed, when this "paper" of Lechford's was written.

If any shall fuggest, that your Churches may fend forth men of their own authority ;

Consider, if it may be done warrantably by the Word of God, as peradventure it may be so.

Yet you will be in danger, *rebus sic stantibus*, of great imputations.

That you infringe *Regall power*,
And Ecclesiasticall.

Wheron adversaries will fure enough make fearfull worke.

And besides, some reformations (under favour) have been too deep, at least for others to follow.

They were also unexperienced of mission to convert Infidels.

Is *Geneva* without her faults? or *Holland, Rotterdam, Amsterdam*, without theirs? what experience have they of mission, or ever had?

Now I beseech you grave Sir, doe you thinke it good, honourable, safe, for us poore men here, | or for the Religion and Professors thereof in generall, in the whole world, that such as have the name of the most zealous, should be the first example of almost utmost provocation to our owne Soveraigne?

For my part, I disclaime *Parker*,¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ Robert Parker, whom Mather the non-conformists in our age," and calls "in some sort the father of all "one of the greatest scholars in the

And encline to *Hooker, Jewel*,¹⁰⁶ as to government.

Great men have great burthens, therefore they have
their counfels croffe, and sometimes they use them both.

You heare enough on the other side,

Heare now this, on this, and the Lord guide your spirit.

*Odere Reges dicta, quæ dici jubent.*¹⁰⁷

English nation," and whom Cotton (*Way of the Churches Cleared*, pt. i. p. 13) names first of the "gracious faints and faithfull witneses" through whose teaching the Congregationalists of New England received "the chief doctrines and practices of [their] way, so far as it differeth from other reformed churches," was, in 1571, rector of North Binfleet, in Essex; next year, at West Henningfield, and subsequently at Dedham, in the same county. Suspended from his ministry for refusing to subscribe Whitgift's three Articles (1584), he removed to Wilton, in Wiltshire. He was compelled to leave England in consequence of his publication, in 1607, of *A Scholasticall Discourse against Symbolizing with Antichrist in Ceremonies*, etc. He went to Holland, — was for a time at Leyden, in the companionship of Dr. Ames and Henry Jacob, — afterwards at Amsterdam; and died about 1614. Two years after his death was published his treatise *De Politeia Ecclesiastica Christi et Hierarchia opposita*,

libri tres. (Francof. 1616, 4to.) In this he maintained the doctrine "that the visible Church instituted by Christ and his Apostles, to which the Keys are given, is not a *Diocesan*, or *Provincial*, or *National* Assembly, but a particular *Congregation*." (See Cotton's *Way Cleared*, pt. ii. p. 23.)

¹⁰⁶ Richard Hooker, author of the famous treatise *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*; and John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, who wrote the not less famous *Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, first published in 1562. In his preface, (chap. i. § 2,) Hooker declares, "as [his] final resolute persuasion: Surely the present form of church-government which the laws of this land have established is such, as no law of God nor reason of man hath hitherto been alleged of force sufficient to prove they do ill, who to the uttermost of their power withstand the alteration thereof."—*Works*, (Keble, 4th ed.) i. 127.

¹⁰⁷ Seneca, *Edipus*, act. 3. 520.

These are the Ministers of the Bay.

AT Boston, master Cotton Teacher, master Wilson Pastor: At Roxbury, master Weld¹⁰⁸ Pastor, master ^{Ministers names.} Eliott Teacher: At Dorchester, master Mather Pastor or Teacher, and Master Burgh¹⁰⁹ out of office: At Braintree, Master Thomson Pastor, Master Flint Teacher:¹¹⁰ At Weymouth, Master Newman Pastor, Master Parker out of office:¹¹¹ At Hingham, master Hubbard Pastor, master

¹⁰⁸ Thomas Weld failed for England, on a mission for the Colony, Aug. 3, 1641, in the same vessel with Lechford, and did not return again to Massachusetts. *Winthrop*, ii. 25, 31. Hubbard (371) says that "he had given the greatest encouragement of any man else for invitation of his friends to come over to New England, yet it was observed true of him, which some note of Peter the hermit, who founded an alarum and march to all other Christians, to the Holy Land, but a retreat to himself."

In October, 1645, the General Court "desired [his] presence here, and speedy return." (*Mass. Rec.*, ii. 137.) The desire was not gratified. Mr. Weld became the minister of St. Mary, Gateshead, Co. Durham, and died in England, 23d March, 1661. — *Savage's Geneal. Dict.*

¹⁰⁹ Jonathan Burr came to New England in 1639, and, after having been received a member of the church in Dorchester, was called to office as

the assistant of Richard Mather. Before the call was accepted, some unguarded expressions, "favoring of familism," awakened apprehensions of Mr. Burr's orthodoxy, and "the *Evil One*, disturbed at the happiness of Dorchester, very strongly endeavoured a *Misunderstanding* between Mr. Mather and Mr. Burr, and the *Misunderstanding* did proceed so far as to produce a *Paroxysm*." — *Magnalia*, b. iii. pt. 2. c. 3. Of the treatment and happy composure of the paroxysm, see the *Magnalia*, l. c., and *Winthrop*, ii. 23. Mr. Burr died Aug. 9, 1641, (a few days after Lechford failed from Boston.) He was a graduate of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and, before coming to New England, had been a minister at Rickinghall [Rickingham], co. Suffolk. — *Savage's Geneal. Dict.*

¹¹⁰ See before, p. 15, note 42.

¹¹¹ See before, p. 22, and note 78. The Rev. Samuel Newman succeeded Thomas Jenner at Weymouth, and

Peck Teacher: They refuse to baptize old *Ottis* grandchildren, an ancient member of their own Church.¹¹² At *Charlestowne*, Master *Symms* Pastor, master *Allen* Teacher: At *Cambridge*, master *Sheppard* Pastor, master *Dunster*

became pastor of the church, which, after one or more unsuccessful trials, was at last "gathered with approbation of magistrates and elders," January 30, 1639.—Mr. James Parker, "a godly man and a scholar," had lived in Dorchester, removed to Weymouth, and was a deputy from that town to the General Court, 1639-42. He afterwards preached for some years at Portsmouth, but was not settled in the ministry there.—See *Winthrop*, ii. 93; Savage's *Geneal. Dict.*

¹¹² Of Rev. Peter Hobart, "a man well qualified with ministerial abilities, though not so fully persuaded of the Congregational discipline as some others were," (as Hubbard judged, p. 192,) see the memoir in the *Magnalia*, b. iii. pt. 4. c. 1., and Savage's note to *Winthrop*, ii. 223.

Robert Peck was a graduate of Magdalen College, Oxford, (A. M., 1603,) and had been minister at Hingham, co. Norfolk, for more than thirty years before he came to New England in 1638. He was ordained teacher of the church in our Hingham, Nov. 8, 1638; but returned home in 1641, refused his rectory in old Hingham in 1646, and died there

in 1656.—*Winthrop*, i. 275; *Magnalia*, b. iii. pt. 4. c. 1; Blomefield's *Hist. of Norfolkshire*, ii. 424, 425; Brook's *Lives*, iii. 263.

John Otis, born about 1581, at Glastenbury, co. Somerset, came to New England in 1635, and was one of the settlers of Hingham in that year. His daughter Hannah, wife of Thomas Gill, had two children baptized the same day, January, 1644, one of whom may have been born before Lechford wrote. Another daughter, Margaret, wife of Thomas Burton, had a daughter baptized May 30, 1641.—Savage's *Geneal. Dict.*; *N. E. Geneal. Reg.*, v. 223. A few years afterwards this Thomas Burton, "a sojourner, and of no visible estate in the country," was a signer, with Dr. Child, Fowle, Maverick, and others, of that famous petition to the General Court for the redress of sundry grievances, one of which was that of being, "themselves and their children, debarred from the seals of the covenant, except they would submit to such a way of entrance and church covenant, as their consciences would not admit." See *Winthrop*, ii. 261, 262; Hutchinson's *Collection*, 188-196.

School-master;¹¹³ divers young Schollers are there under him to the number of almost twenty: At *Watertowne*, master *Phillips* | Pastor, master *Knolls* Pastor:¹¹⁴ At *Ded-* 38
ham, another master *Phillips*¹¹⁵ out of office, and master *Allen* Pastor or Teacher: At *Sudbury*, master *Brown*¹¹⁶ in office, master *Fordham*¹¹⁷ out of office: At *Lynne*, mas-

¹¹³ See after, pp. 52, 53. Before *Plaine dealing* was published, "Master *Dunster*, School-master," became President of Harvard College.

¹¹⁴ Rev. John Knowles, "a godly man and a prime scholar," was ordained pastor, at Watertown, Dec. 9, 1640, as colleague of Mr. Phillips: "and so they had now two pastors and no teacher, differing from the practice of the other churches," &c. — *Winthrop*, ii. 18.

¹¹⁵ Rev. John Phillip, who had been rector of Wrentham (co. Suffolk), in England, and had married a sister of the great puritan divine, Dr. William Ames, was at Dedham in 1638. He declined several invitations to the work of the ministry in Massachusetts, and returned home in the autumn of 1641, — sailing from Boston, Oct. 27, in the ship with John Humfrey, Rev. Robert Peck, and two other ministers. He was a member of the Westminster assembly of divines. — *Winthrop*, ii. 86; Savage, *Geneal. Di.*; Calamy (*Contin.*), ii. 797.

Rev. John Allin, the first minister of Dedham (ordained April 24, 1639),

had also been a preacher at Wrentham in England. — Savage, *Geneal. Di.* His "virtues and merits," says Mather, "were far from the smallest size, among those who 'did worthily in Israel.'" — *Magnalia*, b. iii. pt. 2. ch. 22.

¹¹⁶ Rev. Edmund Browne came to New England in 1637 or '38, and was ordained minister of the church gathered at Sudbury, in August, 1640. By a power of attorney which he executed in July, 1639, it appears that he was then of Watertown, and had married the widow of John Loverum (or Loveran). — Lechford's *MS. Journal*, 87.

¹¹⁷ Robert Fordham, who was for a short time at Cambridge, and afterwards at Sudbury, removed to Long Island, where, early in 1644, he was a principal planter at Hempstead, and is first named in the patent for that township granted by Gov. Kieft, in November of the same year. He was subsequently settled at Southampton. — Savage, *Geneal. Di.*; Brodhead's *Hist. of N. York*, i. 388; *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.* (8vo.) iii. 189.

ter *Whiting* Pastor, master *Cobbett* Teacher: At *Salem*, master *Peter* Pastor,¹¹⁸ master *Norris* Teacher, and his Sonne a Schoole-master: At *Ipswich*, master *Rogers* Pastor, master *Norton* Teacher, and master *Nathaniel Ward*, and his sonne,¹¹⁹ and one Master *Knight*, out of employment: At *Rowley*, Master *Ezek. Rogers* Pastor, Master *Miller*:¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ Hugh Peters failed for England in the same ship with Lechford, Aug. 3, 1641. Rev. Edward Norris, ordained teacher at Salem, March 18, 1640, remained in office there until his death, Dec. 23, 1659. — Savage, *Geneal. Diſt.* His son Edward was school-master from 1640 to 1676, and died in 1684. Rev. John Fisk, who had taught a school at Salem, and occasionally preached there between 1637 and 1640, removed to Wenham before Lechford wrote. — *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ John Ward, educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, came to New England in 1639, assisted Mr. Rogers, at Rowley, for a short time, and in the winter of 1639-40, with his brother-in-law, Giles Firmin, was projecting the settlement of a plantation at Pentuckett or Cochichawick. March 23, 1641, Thomas Gorges wrote from Acomenticus (York, Me.) to Gov. Winthrop: "We have sent young Mr. Ward of Newbury a call. I hope the Lord will be assisting to us in it;" and Winthrop tells how, in the spring of 1641, Ward, going from Pasca-

taquack to Acomenticus, with Hugh Peter and Mr. Dalton, lost his way, and "wandered two days and one night without food or fire." He returned to Massachusetts, settled at Haverhill before 1642, and, on the gathering of the church there, was ordained pastor, in October, 1645. — *Winthrop*, ii. 29, 252; *Mss., Rec.* i. 290; *Hutch. Collection*, 108; 4 *Mss. Hist. Coll.*, vii. 274, 334; Chafe, *Hist. of Haverhill*, 37, 39, 58. (See after, p. 45.)

"Master Knight" is not named in the Hist. Society's MS. This was Rev. William Knight, who had lately come to Ipswich, where he had a grant of land in 1639. He began to preach at the New Meadows (Topfield), in 1641, but returned to England before 1648. — Savage, *Geneal. Diſt.*

¹²⁰ John Miller, a graduate of Cambridge (A.B. 1827), was at Dorchester in 1636; afterwards, of Roxbury; minister at Rowley, 1639, as assistant or colleague of Mr. Rogers, and first town clerk there. He was designated by the elders in 1642, (with George

At *Newberry*, Master *Noyse* Pastor, Master *Parker* Teacher:¹²¹ He is sonne of Master *Robert Parker*, sometime of *Wilton*, in the County of *Wiltes*, deceased, who in his life time writ that mis-learned and mistaken Book *De Politeia Ecclesiastica*.¹²² At *Salisbury*, Master *Worster*¹²³ Pastor: At *Hampton*, Master *Bachelor*¹²⁴ Pastor, Master

Phillips and William Tompson,) for the mission to Virginia, but did not accept the call. He subsequently removed to Yarmouth, where he preached for a short time, but appears to have been living at Roxbury again in 1647, and died at Groton, June 12, 1663. — *Winthrop*, ii. 78; *Hubbard*, 410; Johnson, *W. W. Providence*, b. ii. c. 11; Savage, *Geneal. Dict.*

¹²¹ Thomas Parker, and his cousin James Noyes, had taught in the same school in Newbury (co. Berks), England; "came over in *one Ship*; were pastor and teacher of *one Church*; and Mr. Parker continuing always in Celibacy, they lived in *one House*, till death separated them for a time." — Rev. Nich. Noyes, in *Magnalia*, b. iii. pt. 2. c. 25.

¹²² See before, p. 37, note 105.

¹²³ William Worster was the first minister of the new plantation "begun upon the north side of Merrimack, called Salisbury, now (1639) Colchester," — ordered "henceforward to be called Salisbury," by the General Court in October, 1640. *Winthrop*, i. 289; *Mss. Rec.*, i. 305. He is sup-

posed to have come to New England in 1639; was admitted freeman May 13, 1640; and died Oct. 28, 1663. — Savage's *Geneal. Dict.*

¹²⁴ Winthrop records the arrival of "old Mr. Batchelor, being aged 71," a fellow-passenger with Thomas Welde, June 5, 1632; and elsewhere gives account of his troubles at Lynn; his unsuccessful attempt to establish a plantation at Mattakeefe (Yarmouth), in 1637; his fall and penitence at Hampton, in 1641; and of the stop put by the General Court, on the gathering of a new church at Exeter, in 1644, to which he was to be called as pastor (i. 78, 176, 260; ii. 44, 177, 211). From 1647 to 1650, he was at Portsmouth; returned to England in 1653 or '54; and died at Hackney, near London, in 1660, in the one hundredth year of his age. See Savage's note to *Winthrop*, i. 78; *Mss. Rec.*, i. 100, 103, 236; Lewis, *Hist. of Lynn* (2d ed.) 78, 92-97. Several of his letters are printed from the Winthrop papers, in 4 *Mss. Hist. Coll.*, vii. 88-109.

Mr. Bachiler, and his colleague at Hampton, — Rev. Timothy Dalton, —

Dalton Teacher: There are other School-masters which I know not, in some of these townes.¹²⁵

The Magistrates in the Bay are these:

Magistrates
names.

Master *Bellingham* the present Governour, master *Endicot* the present Deputy Governour, master *Winthrop*, master *Dudley*, master *Humfrey*, master *Saltonstall*, master *Bradstreet*, master *Stoughton*, master *Winthrop junior*, master *Nowell*, Assistants. Master *Nowell* is also Secretary. Master *Stephen Winthrop* is Recorder, whose office is to record all Judgments, Mariages, Births, Deaths, Wills and Testaments, Bargaines and Sales, Gifts, Grants, and Mortgages.¹²⁶ There is a *Marshall*,¹²⁷ | who is as a *Sheriffe* or *Bailiffe*, and his Deputy is the *Gaoler*¹²⁸ and executioner.

Marriages. Tef-
taments. Admin-
istrat. Burials.

Marriages are solemnized and done by the Magistrates,¹²⁹

were by no means so well agreed as were the two ministers of Newbury. See *Winthrop*, ii. 45, 177, and 4 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.*, vii. 102.

¹²⁵ Lechford omitted to name the ministers of *Concord*, where the eminent Peter Bulkley was teacher, and John Jones pastor. Mr. Jones removed to Fairfield, Conn., with several of his parishioners, in September, 1644. — *Savage, Geneal. Dict.*; *Winthrop*, i. 167, 189, 217; ii. 73.

¹²⁶ See before, p. 30, note 100.

¹²⁷ See before, p. 28, note 96.

¹²⁸ Richard Bracket was "appointed to keepe the prison," and "to bee at the commandment of the magistrates for any special service," by the General Court, November, 1637. In 1639, his salary was increased to £20 per annum. — *Mafs. Rec.*, i. 217, 260.

¹²⁹ John Robinson (in *A Justification of Separation*, &c., p. 352) refers to "almost twenty severall scriptures [cited in his *Apology*, ch. vi.], and nine distinct reasons grounded upon them, to prove that the celebra-

and not by the Ministers. * Probats of Testaments, and granting of Letters of Administration, are made and granted in the generall or great quarter Courts. At Burials, nothing is read, nor any Funeral Sermon made, but all the neighbourhood, or a good company of them,

* Causes touching Matrimonie, and Testaments, and other Ecclesiasticall causes, have been anciently by the good lawes of England, committed to the Clergie, upon

better grounds then many are aware of. Brethren, I pray consider well that the Apostle doth allow judgements of controversies to the Church, 1 Cor. 6. And so they did anciently in other countries, as well as in England, as appears by S. Augustines profession thereof, cited by one lately, viz. *That he (the said Father, and other holy men of the Church) suffered the tumultuous perplexities of other mens causes touching secular affaires, either by determining them by judging, or in cutting them off by entreaties: Which labour (saith he) we endure with consolation in the Lord, for the hope of eternall life. To which molestations, the Apostle tyed us, not by his owne judgement, but by his judgement who spake in him.* Besides, should they judge these things, and labour for, and watch over us in the Lord, and not be recompenced as long as they doe well? I speak not to countenance undue exactions, bribes, or other corruptions. I intend brevity, and therefore make bold to refer my Reader to the many learned arguments both in Law-books and Divinity of this subject.

tion of marriage, the buryall of the dead, *are not ecclesiasticall actions, apperteyning to the ministry, but civill, and so to be performed;*" and argues that "the proper works of the ministry must needs be workes of religion," while "these are civill duties, and so practised by the servants of God in all ages." In Massachusetts, it was not deemed advisable "to make a law, that marriage should not be solemnized by ministers," because this would be "repugnant to the laws of England;" but due care was taken "to bring it to a custom, by practice, for the magistrates to perform it." See *Winthrop*, i. 323, and comp. ii. 313. So, in Plymouth, the first marriage (May 12, 1621), "according to the laudable custome of y^e Low-Countries, . . . was thought most requisite to be performed by the magistrate, as being a civill thing," &c., and Brad-

ford (101) adds, "this practise hath . . . been followed by all the famous churches of Christ in these parts to this time,—Anno 1646." Mr. Savage has "discovered no record of a marriage performed by a clergyman prior to 1686, except in Gorges' Province, by a clergyman of the Church of England." — *Proceed. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 1858-60, p. 283.

The publication of the intention, or "contraction," of marriage, was, however, sometimes solemnized by a sermon. Mather alludes to this as "the old usage of New England," when speaking of Mr. Cotton's sermon, in 1651, at the contraction of Rev. Samuel Danforth to the daughter of Mr. Wilfon. — *Magnalia*, b. iv. c. 3. § 6. A MS. note-book of Henry Wolcot, of Windfor, preserves the heads of a sermon by Rev. John Warham, Nov. 17, 1640, "at the

come together by tolling of the bell, and carry the dead solemnly to his grave, and there stand by him while he is buried. The Ministers are most commonly present.¹³⁰

contracting of Benedict Alvord, and Abraham Randall." (The former married Joan Newton, Nov. 26; the latter, Mary Ware, Dec. 1.) That this discourse was *practical* and pointed may be inferred from the selection of the text, — *Ephes. vi. 10, 11*, ("Finally, my brethren, be strong in the Lord," &c. "Put ye on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil.") — and from one of the "uses" to which it was applied by the preacher, — "to teach us, *that the state of marriage is a warfaring condition.*"

Robert Baylie, the Presbyterian divine, in *A Diffusive from the Errors of the Time* (Lond., 1646), alleging that, "whatever crotchets the *Brownists* have fallen into, the *Independents* punctually do follow the most and worst of them," says, "First, for the marriage blessing, . . . they fend it from the Church to the Town-house; making its solemnization the duty of the magistrate: this is the constant practice of all in New England. The prime of the Independent Ministers now at London, have been married by the Magistrate: and all that can now be obtained of them, is, to be content that a Minister, in the name of the Magistrate and as

his commissioner, may solemnize the holy band." — pp. 115, 116.

¹³⁰ "Concerning burials, this they say: all prayers either over or for the dead, are not only superstitious and vain, but also are idolatry, and against the plain scriptures of God . . . Mourning in black garments for the dead, if it be not hypocritical, yet it is superstitious and heathenish: funeral sermons, they also utterly condemn, because they are put in the place of trentals, and many other superstitious abuses follow thereby. To be brief . . . the Nonconformists will have the dead to be buried in this sort, (holding no other way lawful,) namely, that it be conveyed to the place of burial, with some honest company of the Church, without either singing or reading, yea, without all kind of ceremony heretofore used, other than that the dead be committed to the grave, with such gravity and sobriety as those that be present may seem to fear the judgments of God, and to hate sin, which is the cause of death; and thus do the best and right reformed churches bury their dead, without any ceremonies of praying or preaching at them." — J. Canne's *Necessitie of Separation* (1634); *Hans. Knolly's Soc. ed.*, pp. 112, 113. Comp. Mather's *Ratio Disciplinae*, 117.

They are very diligent in trainings of their fouldiers and military exercifes, and all except Magiftrates, and Minifters beare armes, or pay for to bee excufed, or for fpeciall reafons are exempted by order of Court. The Captains and officers are fuch as are admitted of the Church.

Trainings or
Mufters.

But the people begin to complain, they are ruled like *flaves*, and in fhort time fhall have | their children for the moft part remain unbaptized: and fo have little more privileged then Heathens, unleffe the difcipline be amended and moderated.

Grievances.

40

It is feared, that Elections cannot be fafe there long, either in Church or Common-wealth. So that fome melancholy men thinke it a great deale fafer to be in the midft of troubles in a fettled Common-wealth, or in hope eafily to be fettled, then in mutinies there, fo far off from fuccours.

Danger.

At *New Plymouth* they have but one * Minifter, mafter *Rayner*; ¹³¹ yet mafter *Chancey* lives there, and one mafter *Smith*, both Minifters, they are not in any office

New Plymouth
Patent.
M. *Rayner*.
M. *Smith*.

* Eccles. 12, 11.
One fhepherd:

James 3. 1. *Not many mafers*. Whether this be their ground, I know not; but what ever there be in others to advife and affift, the deciding, determining voice, I meane alfo the negative, in fome cafes, ought, as I think, to be in the Pafter: Be there never fo many Minifters in the Church, *Do nothing without your Pafter or Bifhop*, faith *Ireneus*: for whatfoever is faulty in the Church, the Bifhop is firft and principally blamed, *Rev.* 2. and 3.

The firft inftance, as far as is known, of prayer at a funeral, in Maffachufetts, was at the burial of the Rev. William Adams, of Roxbury, Auguft 19, 1685, when, as Judge Sewall noted in his Diary, “Mr. Wilfon, minifter of Medfield, prayed with the company before they went to the grave.” — *Palfrey’s Hift of N. E.*, iii. 495, note 1.

¹³¹ John Reyner, born at Gildersome, Yorkfhire, was educated at

M. *Chancey* his
controversie.

there;¹³² master *Chancey* stands for dipping in baptisme onely necessary, and some other things, concerning which there hath been much dispute, and master *Chancey* put to the worst by the opinion of the Churches advised withall.¹³³

Taunton.
M. *Hooke.*
M. *Streate,*
their ordination.

Cohannet, alias *Taunton*, is in *Plymouth* Patent. There is a Church gathered of late, and some ten or twenty of the Church, the rest excluded. Master *Hooke* Pastor, master *Streate* Teacher.¹³⁴ Master *Hooke* received ordi-

Magdalen College, Cambridge. He came to New England about 1635; the next year succeeded Rev. Ralph Smith at Plymouth, and continued in the ministry there until 1654. — *Bradford*, 351; Davis's *Morton's Memorial*, 216, 217; Savage's *Geneal. Diſ.*

¹³² Ralph Smith came with Higginſon in 1629. and after brief ſtay at Nantaket, removed to Plymouth, where he was "kindly entertained and houſed, . . . and exerciſed his gifts amongſt them, and afterwards was choſen into ye miniſtrie, and ſo remained for fundrie years." *Bradford*, 263. In the winter of 1635-36, when John Norton was preaching in Plymouth, and there was hope of effecting his ſettlement there, Mr. Smith "layed downe his place of miniſtrie, partly by his owne willingnes, . . . partly at the deſire and by ye perſuaſion of others." — *Ibid*, 351; comp. *Winthrop*, i. 175.

Charles Chauncy had been at Plymouth ſince 1638. He left there, in the latter part of 1641, to become paſtor at Scituate, where he remained until choſen preſident of Harvard College in 1654. — See *Bradford*, 382-84; *Winthrop*, i. 330; *Magnalia*, b. iii. pt. 2, c. 23; 1 *Maſs. Hiſt. Coll.*, x. 171; and the ample memoir in Fowler's *Memorials of the Chaunceys*, 1-37.

¹³³ See *Bradford*, 383; *Winthrop*, i. 330-31.

¹³⁴ William Hooke (A.M. Trin. Col., Oxford, 1623) is named as a landholder in Taunton in May, 1639. Inquiry for the date of his ordination there is hopeleſs, ſince Mr. Savage has "aſked in vain" (*Geneal. Diſ.*). He removed to New Haven, and was ordained teacher there about 1644; thence he returned to England, in 1656, to become the domeſtic chaplain of Cromwell. — Bacon's *Hiſt. Diſcourſes*, 62-73; Savage, in note to *Winthrop*, i. 251; Emery's *Ministry*

nation from the hands of one master *Bishop* a School-master, and one *Parker* an Husbandman,¹³⁵ and then master *Hooke* joyned in ordaining master *Streete*. One master *Doughty*, a Minister, opposed the gathering of the Church there, alleadging that according to the Covenant of *Abraham*, all mens children that were of baptized parents, and so *Abrahams* children, ought to be baptized; and spake so in publique, or to that effect, which was held a disturbance, and the Ministers spake to the Magistrate to order him: The Magistrate commanded the Constable, who dragged master *Doughty* out of the Assembly. He was forced to goe away from thence, with his wife and children.¹³⁶

M. Doughty his
controversie.

41

of *Taunton*, i. 63-155; Baylies' *Hist. of Plymouth Colony*, i. 290-95.

Nicholas Street removed to New Haven, where he was elected and ordained teacher (Nov. 26, 1659) as Mr. Hooke's successor, and the associate of Davenport. After the latter removed to Boston, in 1668, Mr. Street remained sole minister of the New-Haven Church till his death, April 22, 1674. — Bacon's *Hist. Discourses*, 155-57; Baylies' *Plymouth*, i. 295.

¹³⁵ "Master Bishop" was, probably, John Bishop, afterwards minister of Stamford, Conn. See *N. E. Geneal. Reg.*, viii. 156. Trumbull (*Hist. of Conn.*, i. 286) says, the messengers of the Stamford Church, sent to seek a minister, "travelled on foot, through

the wilderness, to the eastward of Boston, where they found Mr. John Bishop, who left England before he had finished his academical studies, and had completed his education in this country." — William and John Parker, probably brothers, were among the purchasers of Taunton, in 1637. The latter was a representative in the General Court, in 1642 and 1643. Baylies' *Plymouth*, ii. 2, 282; Savage, *Geneal. Dict.* John Parker and John *Bishop* (as the name is recorded,) of Taunton, were propounded for freemen, June 1, 1641. *Plym. Col. Rec.*, ii. 17.

¹³⁶ In the earlier draught was added: "And being a man of estate when he came [to] the country, is undone."

Divers other
Towns and
Ministers.

There are also in this Patent divers other Plantations, as *Sandwich, Situate, Duxbury, Greenesharbour*,¹³⁷ and *Yarmouth*. Ministers there are, master *Leveridge*,¹³⁸ mas-

M. H. S. MS. In July and August, 1639, Lechford was attorney for Elizabeth, sister of Francis Doughty and wife of William Cole, in a suit to recover from her brother a share of their deceased father's estate, and her promised marriage portion: and it was "for going to the Jewry and pleading with them out of Court," in this cause, or another between the same parties, that Lechford was debarred by the Court "from pleading any man's cause hereafter," &c., as his MS. journal shows. See *Mafs. Rec.*, i. 270; ii. 5206.

Francis Doughty was the son of a merchant of the same name, of Bristol, who died before 1637. In a recognizance for appearance at the next Quarter Court, made in July, 1639, he is styled, of Dorchester. In March, 1641, then of Taunton, he was fined by the Plymouth Court for selling powder to the Indians. (*Plym. Col. Rec.*, ii. 8.) In August, 1639, his sister, in a petition to the General Court of Massachusetts, averred that he "had a purpose to remove his dwelling forth out of the jurisdiction of this Court; where, this complainant cannot tell." (Lechford's *Journal*.) He was, afterwards, at Rhode Island, where he made brief stay; and, in 1641, betook himself to the Dutch at

Manhattan, from whom he and his associates procured, March 28, 1642, a patent for Mespath (since, Newtown, L. I.). He failed, however, "to secure the happy home" which (Mr. Brodhead tells us) he came, from persecution in Massachusetts, to seek: for he was fined and imprisoned by Kieft, — "threatened with this and that" by Stuyvesant, — obliged to quit Mespath for Flushing, — and driven from Flushing to Virginia. See Brodhead's *Hist. of New York*, i. 333, 367, 411, 472.

¹³⁷ Incorporated as a township, March, 1641, and named *Rexhame*, but, within a year afterwards, called by its present name, *Marshfield*. *Plym. Col. Rec.*, xi. (Laws) 37. The Rev. Richard Blinman, with the friends who came with him to New England, settled first at Green's Harbour, probably in 1640: but he had left that place (and Plymouth Colony) before Lechford's book was written. See after, p. 54.

¹³⁸ The Rev. William Leveridge, or Leverich (A. M. Emman. College, Cambridge, 1629), after successive removals from Dover to Boston, and from Boston to Duxbury (where he was for a short time the assistant of Rev. Ralph Partridge), settled at Sandwich before 1640, and was teach-

ter *Blackwood*,¹³⁹ mafter *Mathews*,¹⁴⁰ and mafter *Andrew Hallet*,¹⁴¹ a School-mafter. Mafter *Saxton* alfo, who was comming away when we did.¹⁴²

At the Ifland called *Aquedney*,¹⁴³ are about two hun- Ifland *Aquedney*.
dred families. There was a Church, where one mafter

er of the church there. For what further is known of him and his work, fee *Savage's Genael. Diſt.*, and note in *Winthrop*, i. 115; *Freeman's Hiſt. of Cape Cod*, ii. 38.

¹³⁹ Chriſtopher Blackwood was for a ſhort time at Scituate, after the removal of the Rev. John Lothrop to Barnſtable in 1639. He returned to England in 1642. — *Deane's Scituate*, 172, 222.

After the name of Mr. Blackwood, Lechford had infered (in the M.H.S. MS.) that of "Mr. Thomas." This was probably William Thomas, of Marſhfield, who is ſuppoſed to have come to New England with Mr. Blinman. On a ſubſequent page (54) will be found mention of "a broyle betweene one Maſter Thomas . . . and Maſter Blindman," which reſulted in the removal of the latter from the colony.

¹⁴⁰ Marmaduke Matthews preached at Yarmouth from 1639 to 1643. Of him and his many troubles, fee Frothingham's *Charleſtown*, 121–29; *Freeman's Cape Cod*, ii. 180, 182; *Johnſon's W.W. Providence*, b. iii. c. 7.

¹⁴¹ Andrew Hallet removed from Lynn to Sandwich in 1637, and to

Yarmouth about 1640. — *Savage's Genael. Diſt.*

¹⁴² The M.H.S. MS. adds, "And I know not what ſlayed him, he is very aged and white." The Rev. Peter Saxton (A.M. Trin. Col., Cambridge, 1603), whom Mather calls "a ſtudioſ and a learned perſon, a great Hebrician," was at Scituate in 1640, but did not long remain there. He was probably one of the four miniſters who returned to England, Oct. 27, 1641, in the ſhip with John Humfrey. — See *Magnalia*, b. iii. pt. 4, c. 1; *Winthrop*, ii. 85; *Brook's Lives*, iii. 139; *Savage's Genael. Diſt.*

Of the "worthy inſtruments" whom Morton, s. a. 1542, names "among the ſpecialleſt" in Plymouth colony, Lechford omits the Rev. John Lathrop (Scituate, 1634–39; Barnſtable, 1638–53); Rev. John Mayo, Mr. Lathrop's colleague at Barnſtable (ord. April 15, 1640); and Rev. Ralph Partridge, firſt miniſter of Duxbury (1637–58).

¹⁴³ "The Ifland," — a name ſpecially appropriated to Rhode Ifland by the Engliſh who firſt planted there. With the locative or objective affix, *Aquednet*, or *Aquidnick*, ſignifying,

Clark was Elder: ¹⁴⁴ The place where the Church was, is called *Newport*, but that Church, I heare, is now dissolved; ¹⁴⁵ as also divers Churches in the Country have been broken up and dissolved through dissention. At the other end of the Island there is another towne called *Portsmouth*, but no Church: there is a meeting of some men, who there teach one another, and call it Prophecie. These of the Island have a pretended civill government of their owne erection, without the Kings Patent. ¹⁴⁶ There lately they whipt one master *Gorton*, ¹⁴⁷ a grave man, for

Master *Gorton*
whipt and
banished.

to, on, or at the Island. [Thus, in Acts xxvii. 16, Eliot wrote, "*aliquednet* hettamun Clauda," for "an island called Clauda.] The *diminutive* of this name, *Aquednef*, or *Aquidnef*, was given to "the little Island in the mouth of the Bay" (4 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.*, vi. 267).

The M.H.S. MS. reads here,—"about *one* hundred families: There *is* one church," etc.

¹⁴⁴ For "Elder," the M.H.S. MS. has "Pastor," and adds: "There is Mr. *Lenthall* a minister out of office and employment, and lives very poorly. Mr. *Doughty* also is come to this Island. The place where the church is, is called *New porte*." To the name of Mr. *Lenthall* is this note, in the margin: "He stood upon his ministerie and against the Church Covenant in the Bay, and diverse joyneing to choose him their minister at Wey-

mouth, by subscribing to a paper for that end, he was censured in the generall Court at Boston, and so were they that joyned in that election, and one of them named *Brittaine* for words saying that some of the Ministers in the Bay were Brownists, and that they would not [*sic*] till it came to the sword's point, was whipt, and had eleven stripes." Comp. p. 22, *ante*, and see notes 77-80.

¹⁴⁵ "But that church . . . through dissention." These three lines are not in the M.H.S. MS., where the sentence ends with "*Newport*."

¹⁴⁶ The words "pretended civil" are not in the M.H.S. MS.

¹⁴⁷ Of Samuel Gorton,—whose history Mr. Savage has, in a single line, reduced to its essence: "a most active religious disturber of several places,"—see the Memoir by Judge Staples, prefixed to "Simplicities De-

denying their power, and abusing some of their | Magistrates with uncivill tearmes; the Governour, master *Coddington*, saying in Court, *You that are for the King, lay hold on Gorton*; and he againe, on the other side, called forth, *All you that are for the King, lay hold on Coddington*; ¹⁴⁸ whereupon *Gorton* was banished the Island: so with his wife and children he went to *Providence*. ¹⁴⁹ They began about a small trespassse of swine, but it is thought some other matter was ingredient. ¹⁵⁰

42

fence," *R. I. Hist. Coll.*, ii.; Mackie's *Life of Gorton*, in Sparks's *Amer. Biography*; Notice (by Chas. Deane) in *N. E. Gener. Register*, iv. 201-21; Savage's *Gener. Dict.*, and note to *Winthrop*, ii. 58; Arnold's *R. Island*, i. 163, *et seq.*

"The fun of the presentment of Samuel Gorton, at Portsmouth" was printed by Edward Winslow in his reply to Gorton (*Hypocrisie Unmasked*, Lond., 1646), pp. 54, 55, — whence it is copied by Arnold, *Hist. of R. Island*, i. 170-72. The precise date of his trial or of his banishment from the Island has not been ascertained. Mr. Arnold (i. 172) places it in March or April, 1640; Dr. Palfrey (*Hist. of N. E.*, ii. 119) writes "1640 or 1641;" Mr. Savage, in his *Gener. Dictionary*, and Mr. C. Deane, in *N. E. Gener. Register*, iv. 206, are silent.

¹⁴⁸ Comp. the presentment (14th count) in *Hypocrisie Unmasked*, 55; Arnold's *Hist. of R. I.*, i. 172.

¹⁴⁹ Roger Williams wrote to Gov. Winthrop, from Providence, under the date, "8. 1st 1640," some account of Gorton's proceedings there: "Master Gorton having foully abused high and low at Aquednick, is now bewitching and bemadding poor Providence, . . . denying all visible and external ordinances, in depth of Familism, against which I have a little disputed and written, and shall (the Most High assisting.) to death. As Paul said of Asia, I of Providence; (almost) all suck in his poison, as at first they did at Aquednick;" etc. — *Hypocrisie Unmasked*, 55; Arnold, i. 172. Comp. *N. E. Gener. Reg.*, iv. 216. Mr. Arnold reads the date of this letter, Oct. 1, 1640; Mr. Deane and Dr. Palfrey (ii. 120), March 8, 1641. That the latter is the true reading hardly admits of doubt.

¹⁵⁰ Winslow expressly states that Gorton's punishment was "all for breach of the civil peace and notori-

New Providence.

At *Providence*, which is twenty miles from the said Island, lives master *Williams*, and his company of divers opinions; most are Anabaptists; they hold there is no true visible Church in the *Bay*, nor in the world, nor any true Ministerie.¹⁵¹ This is within no Patent, as they say; but they have of late a kind of government also of their owne erection.¹⁵²

ous contempt of authority, without the least mention of any points of religion, on the Government's part. *Hyp. Unm.* The "small trespass" was by "an ancient woman's cow going into the field where Samuel Gorton had some land."

¹⁵¹ See *Winthrop*, i. 293, 367. After his re-baptism by Holliman, Roger Williams "walked in the Baptists' way about three or four months," then "brake from the society, and declared at large the ground and reason of it, — that their baptism could not be right, because it was not administered by an Apostle. After that, he set himself upon a way of *Seeking*," etc. (Rich. Scott's letter, in App. to Fox's *N. E. Fire-Brand Quenched*, 247.) "He advised [the church at Providence] to forego all, to dislike everything, and wait for the coming of new Apostles: whereupon they dissolved themselves, and became that sort of sect which we term *Seekers*, . . . owning of no true Churches or Ordinances now in the world." *Magnalia*, b. vii. c. 2, § 7; comp. Callender's

Hist. Disc., 109, 110. When Mr. Williams was in England, in 1643 and '44, he made numerous converts to his peculiar belief, and the sect of *Seekers* — of whom Baxter called him the father — became considerable in numbers and influence. Robert Bailie, the Presbyterian divine, wrote from London, in June, 1644, that the Independents "are divided among themselves. One Mr. Williams has drawn a great number after him, to a singular independency, denying any true church in the world." Not long afterwards, he wrote again: "Sundry of the Independents are stepped out of the church and follow my good acquaintance, Mr. Roger Williams, who says there is no church, no sacraments, no pastors, no church-officers, or ordinance in the world, nor has been since a few years after the Apostles." Hanbury's *Memorials*, ii. 439, 444. Of the sect of *Seekers*, see *Relig. Baxterianæ*, pt. i. 76; Edwards's *Gangræna*, pt. ii. p. 131.

¹⁵² This alludes probably to the articles of agreement entered into by

One master *Blakeston*,¹⁵³ a Minister, went from *Boston*, M. Blakeston. having lived there nine or ten yeares, because he would not joyne with the Church; he lives neere master *Williams*, but is far from his opinions.

There are five or six townes, and Churches upon the *River Connecticut*,¹⁵⁴ where are worthy master *Hooker*, master *Warham*, master *Hewet*, and divers others, and master *Fenwike* with the *Lady Boteler*,¹⁵⁵ at the rivers Lady Boteler.

the inhabitants of Providence, July 27, 1640. "It was but a slight departure from the primitive democracy, still it forms an era in our colonial history, and for several years constituted the town government."—Arnold's *Hist. of R. Island*, i. 108; see Staples, *Annals of Prov.*, 40–43.

¹⁵³ In the M.H.S. MS., this name is written *Blackstone*. Of the little which is known of the Rev. William Blackstone, the first known white settler of Boston, and the "earliest permanent civilized resident" in what now constitutes the State of Rhode Island, ample exhibition may be found in Bliss's *Hist. of Rehoboth*, 2–14; Daggett's *Hist. of Attleborough*, 29; Callender's *Hist. Discourse* (Elton's ed.), App. v.; S. Davis, in 2 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, x. 170; Savage's *Geneal. Dict.*, and note on *Winthrop*, i. 44, 45; Drake's *Boston*, 95–97; Arnold's *R. Island*, i. 99, ii. 568–70. He lived on the tract afterwards called the "Attleborough Gore" (included in Rehoboth north purchase, in 1661), near

the river since called by his name, in the south part of what is now the township of Cumberland, R. I.

¹⁵⁴ Lechford had not visited Connecticut, and his notice of the river towns is brief and unsatisfactory. He names Mr. Hooker of Hartford, but omits his colleague, the Rev. Samuel Stone. John Warham was pastor, and Ephraim Huet teacher, of the church at Windfor. It does not appear that Wethersfield had an organized church before 1641, when Henry Smith is supposed to have been ordained there. Peter Prudden (who was settled over the church of Milford, April, 1640) and Richard Denton (who removed to Stamford early in 1641) had preached, perhaps only occasionally, at Wethersfield, before Mr. Smith's ordination.—Comp. Trumbull's *Hist. of Conn.*, i. 108, 120, 121, 279, 280; *Winthrop*, i. 305, 306; Goodwin's *Footnote Genealogy*, Intro., xxxviii.

¹⁵⁵ George Fenwick of Brinkburn, co. Northumberland, a gentleman of good family and estate, was interested

mouth in a faire house, and well fortified, and one master *Higgison*, a young man, their Chaplain.¹⁵⁶ These plantations have a Patent; the Lady was lately admitted of master *Hookers* Church, and thereupon her child was baptized.

43 The Lady *Moody*¹⁵⁷ lives at *Lynne*, but is of *Salem*

in the Earl of Warwick's grant to Lord Say and Sele and others, usually termed the "old patent" of Connecticut. In July, 1639, as the representative of the grantees, he came, "with his lady and family, to make a plantation at Saybrook," "landing at New Haven from the first ship that ever cast anchor in that place." (*Winthrop*, i. App. A. 59, 60, and p. 306; *Hutchinson*, i. 97.) His wife, Alice, was a daughter of Sir Edward Apsey of Thackham, co. Suffex, Knt., and, at the time of her marriage with Mr. F., the widow of Sir John Boteler of Teflon, co. Kent. She died at Saybrook, in November or December, 1645, shortly after the birth (Nov. 4) of her second daughter, Dorothy. The elder daughter, Elizabeth, whose baptism Lechford mentions, married, in England, after her father's decease, her cousin, Roger Fenwick, Esq., younger brother of Major John F., the proprietor of Salem Tenth, New Jersey. See *Will of Geo. Fenwick*, in *Conn. Rec.*, i. App. vii.; Berry's *Suffex Genealogies* (Apsey); Burke's *Extinct Baronetcies* (Boteler, of Teflon.) Mr. Fenwick, having trans-

ferred to Connecticut his interest in the fort and plantation at Saybrook, returned to England soon after the death of his wife, and entered the service of the parliament. In 1648, he "was made a colonel and governor of Tynemouth castle" (*Winthrop*, ii. App. A. 72), and was named a member of the high court of justice for the trial of Charles I., but did not take his seat in that tribunal. In 1652, he was Governor of Berwick; and, the same year, married Katharine, daughter of Sir Arthur Hafelrigge. He died at Berwick, March 15, 1657; and a monument in the church there honors his memory with the epitaph, "A good man is a public good."

¹⁵⁶ John Higginson, eldest son of the Rev. Francis; afterwards assistant and successor of Rev. Henry Whitfield at Guilford, and, later, the honored minister of the Salem church, 1660-1708. Before his settlement at Guilford,—probably before his chaplaincy at Saybrook,—he taught school for some time in Hartford, while prosecuting his studies for the ministry under Mr. Hooker.

¹⁵⁷ I have found no earlier mention

Church, shee is (good Lady) almost undone by buying Lady Moody. master *Humphries* farme, *Swampscot*,¹⁵⁸ which cost her nine, or eleven hundred pounds.

Beyond *Connecticott* are divers plantations, as *New-New Haven. Haven*, alias *Quinapcag*, where master *Davenport* is Pastor, and one master *James*¹⁵⁹ a Schoole-master; and

of Lady Deborah Moody than in a memorandum by Lechford, acknowledging the receipt of £1. 11. "of my Lady Moody," April 22, 1639, — in payment of professional services probably. She had a grant of four hundred acres of land from the General Court, May 13, 1640. *Mafs. Rec.*, i. 290. Winthrop (ii. 123), writing in the summer of 1643, tells how, "being taken with the error of denying baptism to infants," she was admonished by the Salem Church, and removed to the Dutch colony, "to avoid further trouble, etc." By permission of Gov. Kieft, she settled at Gravesend, L.I. See Brodhead's *Hist. of New York*, i. 367, 411.

¹⁵⁸ In the eastern part of Lynn; granted to Mr. Humfrey by the General Court, May, 1635, and laid out, 1637-8, "betwixt the Clifte and the Forest River near Marblehead." *Mafs. Rec.*, i. 147, 226. [The name "Swampscot" — contracted from *Wannasquompskut* — signifies, at the cliff, upright rock, or rock-summit.]

¹⁵⁹ Thomas James, ordained pastor

at Charlestown, Nov. 2, 1632, was dismissed in consequence of "some occasions of difference" with his colleague, Mr. Symmes, as Winthrop relates, under date of March 11, 1636. He removed, after brief stay at Providence, to New Haven, where he had a grant of land, Nov. 3, 1639, and was admitted a freeman June 11, 1640. See *Winthrop*, i. 94, 127, 182, ii. 95; Frothingham's *Charlestown*, 70-72; *N. Haven Col. Rec.*, i. 24, 35; Bacon's *Hist. Disc.*, 57-59. A greater than Master James was teaching at New Haven when Lechford wrote, or very shortly afterwards. Ezekiel Cheever, "the father of New-England school-masters," came with Davenport and Eaton in 1638. In February, 1642, a free school was established in New Haven, and provision made by the General Court for its support, "according to which order, 20£. a year was paid to Mr. Ezekiel Cheever, . . . for two or three years," and his salary was increased to £30. in August, 1644. — *N. H. Col. Rec.*, i. 62, 210; Bacon's *Hist. Disc.*, 318-20.

another where master *Whitfield*¹⁶⁰ is: and another where master *Pridgeon*¹⁶¹ is, and some others,¹⁶² almost reaching to the Dutch plantation southward. Among these are my old acquaintance, master *Roger Ludlow*,¹⁶³ master

¹⁶⁰ Manunkatuck — named *Gulford*, July 6, 1643 — was purchased and planted, in 1639, by the Rev. Henry Whitfield and his associates. Mr. W. arrived in New Haven in July, 1639, in the ship with George Fenwick. He returned to England in 1650. — *N. H. Col. Rec.*, i. 96, 199; *N. E. Gen. Reg.*, ix. 149; Trumbull's *Hist. of Conn.*, i. 207, 285, 295.

¹⁶¹ For *Prudden*. Wepowaug, afterwards named *Milford*, was purchased of the Indians, Feb. 12, 1639, by Rev. Peter Prudden and his associates. Their church was gathered at New Haven, and Mr. P. was ordained their minister, April 18, 1640. He remained with them till his death, July, 1656, — “a man of great zeal, courage, wisdom, and exemplary gravity in his conversation.” — Hubbard's *Hist. of N. E.*, 328. See also, *Magnalia*, b. iii. pt. 2, c. vi.; Bacon's *Hist. Discourses*, 55.

¹⁶² These were *Ripponwams* (named Stamford, April 6, 1642), settled in 1641, under the jurisdiction of New Haven; *Pequonnock*, or *Cupheag*, (Stratford), and *Uncowa* (Fairfield), begun to be settled in 1639, the former admitted to town privileges by Connecticut the same year; the latter in April, 1640. — Trumbull's *Conn.*, i.

121, 109, 110; *N. H. Col. Rec.*, i. 45, 58; *Conn. Rec.*, i. 35, 36, 41, 53.

¹⁶³ Mr. Ludlow probably accompanied Captains Mafon and Stoughton in pursuit of the fugitive Pequots to Safo swamp, in June, 1637, and had thus an opportunity of exploring that fine tract of land which Capt. Stoughton pronounced to be “before Pequot, or the Bay either, abundantly.” (Letter, in *Winthrop*, i. App. D.) In October, 1639, he had taken some steps toward the establishment of a plantation at Uncowa (Fairfield), and removed thither not long afterwards. *Conn. Rec.*, i. 35, 53. Considering the important position which Roger Ludlow held in two colonies, and the trusts with which he was honored, it is surprising that so little of his personal history and family relation has come to light. That little may nearly all be seen in Savage's *Geneal. Dict.*, and note to *Winthrop*, i. 28, and in Trumbull's *Connecticut*, i. 217, 218. A prefatory note to Mr. Brinley's admirable reprint of the Conn. Laws of 1673 gives reason for doubting the correctness of Dr. Trumbull's statement (l. c.), adopted by Mr. Savage, that Ludlow “removed with his family to Virginia.” The fact of his return to England is placed beyond

Frost,¹⁶⁴ sometime of Nottingham, and his sonnes, John Grey and Henry Grey; the Lord in his goodnesse provide for them; they have a Minister, whose name I have forgotten, if it be not master Blackwell.¹⁶⁵ I do not know what Patent these have.

Long Island is begun to be planted, and some two Ministers are gone thither, or to goe, as one master Peirson,¹⁶⁶

doubt by the occurrence of his name as one of a committee to whom, in July, 1656, the council at Whitehall referred the petition of Thomas Jenner for restitution of goods which had been taken from him at Boston, under a commission from Major Sedgwick and Capt. Leverett. See Sainsbury's *Calendar of Col. Papers*, i. 444.

¹⁶⁴ William Frost was an early settler at Uncowa, where he died in 1645. His will, of Jan. 6, 1644-5, is printed in *Conn. Rec.*, i. 465. John and Henry Grey were living in Boston in 1639. Before May of that year, John married Elizabeth, daughter of William Frost, and widow of John Watton. Aug. 1, he sold a house and home-lot in Lynn, and, before September 28, removed (perhaps accompanying his father-in-law) to Uncowa, or the vicinity. Henry, the younger brother, had a house-lot granted in Boston, Feb. 12, 1639. In an instrument executed Sept. 7, 1639, he is described as "now of Boston, heretofore citizen and merchant of London." He married Lydia, another

daughter of William Frost, after May, 1639. In September, 1640, he and his wife conveyed their house in Boston to Thomas Lechford, in trust, to be sold for their account. (Lechford's *M.S. Journal*.) He soon afterwards followed his brother and wife's father to Uncowa, where he became a man of some importance; was a deputy in 1656 and '57; and died in 1658.

¹⁶⁵ Adam Blakeman (as in his autograph now before me, but more often written by his contemporaries and descendants, *Blackman*) became, in 1640, the first minister of Pequonnock (Stratford), where he continued to reside until his death in 1665. — See the *Magnalia*, b. iii. pt. 2, c. 7; Trumbull's *Hist. of Conn.*, i. 280, 463; Savage's *Geneal. Dictionary*.

¹⁶⁶ Rev. Abraham Pierson, from Yorkshire (A.B. Trin Col., Cambr., 1632), came to New England in 1640, and was chosen minister of the church gathered at Lynn in November of that year, for removal to Long Island. — See *Winthrop*, ii. 6; Savage's *Gen. Dict.*; Trumbull's *Conn.*, i. 148.

and maſter *Knowles*,¹⁶⁷ that was at *Dover*, alias *Northam*. A Church was gathered for that Iſland at *Lynne*, in the *Bay*, whence ſome, by reaſon of ſtraitneſſe, did remove to the ſaid Iſland; and one maſter *Simonds*, heretofore a ſervant unto a good gentlewoman whom I know, was one of the firſt Founders.¹⁶⁸ Maſter *Peter* of *Salem* was at the gathering, and told me the ſaid maſter *Henry Simonds* made a very cleare confeſſion. Notwithſtanding he yet dwels at *Boston*, and they proceed on but flowly. The Patent is granted to the Lord *Starling*; but the *Dutch* claime part of the Iſland, or the whole: for their

¹⁶⁷ Sept. 28, 1641, James Farrett, agent of the Earl of Stirling, recorded at Boſton his formal proteſt againſt Edward Tomlynſ and Timothy Tomlynſ, “with *one Hanſard Knowles* and others, who have lately entered and taken poſſeſſion of ſome parts of the Long Iſland,” etc. See note to *Winthrop*, ii. 4. Theſe were of the company from Lynn and Ipfwich which went to Long Iſland in the ſummer of 1641, and “finding a very commodious place for plantations, but challenged by the Dutch, they treated with the Dutch governor to take it from *them*,” and obtained from Kieft a grant (June 6) of all the privileges they deſired, on “very fair terms.” The Maſſachuſetts Court “were offended at this, and fought to ſtay them, not for going from us, but for ſtrengthening the Dutch, our doubtful neigh-

bors, and taking that from them which our king challenged and had granted . . . to the Earl of Stirling.” Some of the leaders, called before the October court, “were convinced and promiſed to deſiſt.” *Winthrop*, ii. 34; Brodhead’s *Hiſt. of New York*, i. 332–33. If Mr. Knollys actually went with this company to Long Iſland, he did not long remain there, for we know that he arrived in London, Dec. 24, 1641. Brook’s *Lives*, iii. 492; *Winthrop*, ii. 28 (and note).

¹⁶⁸ Henry Symonds came to New England in July or Auguſt, 1640, (ſailing from Briſtol in the “Charles,” or her comfort, the “Hopewell”). He was admitted an inhabitant of Boſton Jan. 30, 1643, and died there in September of the ſame year.—Lechford’s *MS. Journal*; Snow’s *Boſton*, 124, 125; Drake’s *Boſton*, 278, n.

plantation is right over against, and not far from the South end of the said Isle. And one Lieutenant *Howe* pulling downe the Dutch Arms on the Isle, there was like to be a great stir, what ever may become of it.¹⁶⁹ The Dutch also claime *Quinappeg*, and other parts. 44

At *Northam*,¹⁷⁰ alias *Pascattaqua*, is master *Larkham* *Pascattaqua*. Pastor. One master *H. K.*¹⁷¹ was also lately Minister there, with master *Larkham*. They two fell out about baptizing children, receiving of members, buriall of the dead; and the contention was so sharp, that master *K.* and his party rose up, and excommunicated master *Larkham*, and some that held with him: And further, master *Larkham* flying to the Magistrates, master *K.* and a Captaine¹⁷² raised Armes, and expected helpe from the *M. Larkham*
excommunicated.
A broyle or riot.

¹⁶⁹ See *Winthrop*, ii. 4-7; Brodhead's *Hist. of New York*, i. 297-99. The "great stir" was quieted by the interchange of letters in Latin, by Kieft and Dudley.

¹⁷⁰ Dover was for a short time called Northam, after a parish of that name near Bideford, co. Devon, where the Rev. Thomas Larkham had been minister. Of the strife between Mr. Larkham and Mr. Knollys, Winthrop gives a full account, ii. 27, 28. See also two letters from Hugh Peters, in 4 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.*, vi. 106, 107; Belknap's *New Hampshire*, i. 46-49. Mr. Larkham failed for England in 1642, and Winthrop (ii. 92) gives a good

reason for thinking "it was time for him to be gone." He became the minister of Tavistock, Devonshire, and notwithstanding the evil report which followed him across the Atlantic, he was honored as "a man of great sincerity, strict piety and good learning." Palmer's *Calamy*, i. 407. Edwards, in the *Gangræna* (1646: pt. 3, p. 97), gives brief and bitter notice of "one Master Larkin," who was then preaching somewhere in Kent,—"a fierce Independent."

¹⁷¹ "Hanford Knowles."—*M.H.S. MS.*

¹⁷² "Captaine Underhill."—*Ibid.* Comp. *Winthrop*, ii. 27, where the

Bay; master *K.* going before the troop with a Bible upon a poles top, and he, or some of his party giving forth, that their side were *Scots*, and the other *English*:¹⁷³ Whereupon the Gentlemen of Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* plantation came in, and kept Court with the Magistrates of *Pascattaqua*, (who have also a Patent) being weake of themselves. And they fined all those that were in *Armes*, for a Riot, by Indictment, Jury, and Verdict, formally.¹⁷⁴ Nine of them were censured to be whipt, but that was spared. Master *K.* and the *Captain* their leaders, were fined 100.l. a piece, which they are not able to pay. To this broyle came master *Peter* of *Salem*, and there gave his opinion, at *Northam*, that the said excommunication was a nullity.¹⁷⁵

Episcopacie.

45

Province of
Maigne.

Master *Thomas Gorgs* sonne of *Captain Gorgs* of *Batcombe*, by *Chedder* in *Somersetshire*, is principall Commis-

captain is said to have gathered his neighbors "to defend himself, and to see the peace kept," Mr. Larkham having previously "laid violent hands upon Mr. Knolles."

¹⁷³ "Knollys's calling his party *Scots*, and the other party *English*, will be understood when it is remembered that the battle of Newburn-upon-Tyne had been lately fought." — Palfrey's *Hist. of N. E.*, i. 591.

¹⁷⁴ "Mr. Larkham and his company . . . sent to Mr. [Francis] Williams, who was governour of those in the

lower part of the River [at Portsmouth and Dover], who came up with a company of armed men and beset Mr. Knolles' house where Capt. Underhill then was, . . . and in the mean time they called a Court, and Mr. Williams sitting as judge, they found Capt. Underhill and his company guilty of a riot, and set great fines upon them," etc. — *Winthrop*, ii. 28.

¹⁷⁵ See after, p. 53, where Lechford mentions this visit of Hugh Peters to Dover as one of the "occurrences touching Episcopacie."

fioner for the *Province of Maigne*, under Sir *Ferdinando*, but he was not at that Court at *Northam* himfelfe.¹⁷⁶ Mafter *Wards* fonne¹⁷⁷ is defired to come into the *Province of Maigne*. There is one mafter *Jenner*¹⁷⁸ gone thither of late. There is want of good Minifters there; the place hath had an ill report by fome, but of late fome good acts of Juftice¹⁷⁹ have been done there, and divers

¹⁷⁶ Thomas Gorges arrived at Bof-ton in the fummer of 1640, commiffioned a member of the council for Maine, and its fecretary. Winthrop found him "well difpofed," and "careful to take advice of our magiftrates how to manage his affairs." He remained a few days in Bof-ton, and went to Maine in feafon to be prefent at the fecond meeting of the General Court for the province, September 8. In 1641, when Acomenticus was incorporated as a town, by charter of Sir Ferd. Gorges, his "well-beloved coufin" Thomas was named mayor; and he was alfo conftituted deputy-governor of the province. *Winthrop*, ii. 9, and Savage's note; Sullivan's *Maine*, App. vi.; Williamfon's *Maine*, i. 283-5; Hazard's *State Papers*, i. 47; *Letters of T. Gorges to Winthrop*, in 4 *Mass. Hift. Coll.*, vii. 333, 335.

¹⁷⁷ See before, p. 38, note 119.

¹⁷⁸ Rev. Thomas Jenner, who had been at Roxbury in 1634 or 1635; afterwards at Weymouth, where he preached for fome years, and his name appears as deputy to the Gen-

eral Court, in May, 1640. In January, 1641, he was at Saco, commend-ed thither by Winthrop, Humfrey, and other friends in Maffachufetts; and Richard Vines (who was an Epif-copalian) wrote that "he liked Mr. Jenner his life and converfation, and alfo his preaching, if he would let the Church of England alone." He was yet at Saco in April, 1646, though already "on the wing of removal;" re-turned to England, and was living in Norfolkfhire in 1651.—*Winthrop*, i. 250 (and note), 287-88; Folfom's *Saco and Biddeford*, 81-83; *Mass. Hift. Coll.*, 3d Ser. iv. 144; 4th Ser. vii. 340, 341.

¹⁷⁹ The "good acts of juftice" to which Lechford fpecially alludes, were, probably, the proceedings againft the notorious George Burdett, late gov-ernor and preacher at Dover, and more recently at Acomenticus, where Thomas Gorges "found all out of or-der, for Mr. Burdett ruled all." In 1640, he was complained of and fined, on three feveral convictions, for grofs mifconduft, and foon afterwards re-

Gentlemen¹⁸⁰ there are, and it is a Countrey very plentiful for fish, fowle, and venison.

Exeter.

Not farre from *Northam* is a place called *Exeter*, where master *Wheelwright* hath a small Church.¹⁸¹

Cape Anne.
Fishing.

And at *Cape Anne*, where fishing is fet forward, and some stages builded,¹⁸² there one master *Rafshley* is Chap-

turned to England. — See *Winthrop*, i. 276, 281, 291; ii. 10; *Hubbard*, 221, 353, 361.

¹⁸⁰ We may read here, with the M. H. S. MS., “divers well accomplished and discrete Gentlemen there are.”

¹⁸¹ Rev. John Wheelwright, “being banished from us, gathered a company, and fat down by the falls of Pascataquack, and called their town Exeter.” *Winthrop*, i. 290. The settlement was commenced in 1638, and, Oct. 4, 1639, thirty-five planters subscribed a combination for civil government, independent of other jurisdiction. *Hazard*, i. 463; Belknap’s *N. Hampshire*, i. ch. 1.

¹⁸² “A fishing trade was begun at Cape Ann by one Mr. Maurice Tomfon, a merchant of London; and an order was made [by the General Court, in May, 1639], that all stocks employed in fishing should be free from public charge for seven years.” *Winthrop*, i. 307; *Mafs. Rec.*, i. 256, 257–8. Mr. Thompson, if he came at all to New England, did not remain long. He was an enterprising mer-

chant, who was largely interested in trade with Canada, Virginia, the West Indies, and Guinea; much employed by the company of Providence Island, the Virginia company, and the proprietors of the Somers Island, between 1632 and 1650; a member of the Guinea company; and, in 1653, one of the commissioners for governing the Somers Islands. See Saintbury’s *Calendar of Colon. Papers*, i. 151, 155, 294, 316–19, &c. Land was appropriated in his name at Cape Ann, and “Mr. Thomfon’s frame” (probably for curing fish) is mentioned in the Gloucester town records in 1650, as having formerly stood upon a “parcel of land in the harbour.” Babson’s *Hist. of Gloucester*, 50. Ofmond Douch and Thomas Milward (or Millard) were partners in the fishing business at Cape Ann in July, 1639, and the latter describes himself as “of Cape Ann,” in August, 1640. Lechford’s *Ms. Journal*. They were probably employed by Mr. Thompson, and were under the immediate direction of his agent, Samuel Maverick of Noddle’s Island.

lain:¹⁸³ for it is farre off from any Church: *Rashley* is admitted of *Boston* Church, but the place lyeth next *Salem*, and not very far further from *Ipswich*.

The *Isle* of *Shoales* and *Richmonds Isle*, which lie neere *Pasquattaqua*, and¹⁸⁴ good fishing places. Isle of Shoales and Richmond.

About one hundred and fifty leagues from *Boston* Eastward is the *Isle of Sables*, whither one *John Webb*, alias *Evered*, an active man, with his company are gone with commission from the *Bay*, to get Sea-horfe teeth and oyle.¹⁸⁵ Isle of Sables.

Eastward off *Cape Codd* lyeth an Island called *Martins* Martins Vineyard.

¹⁸³ Thomas Rashley was admitted to the Boston Church, March 8, 1640, then called a "student." He was at Exeter in 1646; returned to England, and was minister at Bishop Stokes, Hants; afterwards, it is said, in Wiltshire. *Geneal. Dict.* In 1641, Rev. Richard Blinman, with a part of the company who followed him from Wales, removed from Green's Harbor (Marthfield) to Cape Ann, and gave to the plantation the name of Gloucester.

¹⁸⁴ For "and" read "are." *M.H.S. MS.* Richmond's [or Richman's] Island is on the coast of Maine, between Cape Elizabeth and Black Point. Jofelyn visited it, in September, 1638; "where Mr. Tralanie [Trelawney] kept a fishing. Mr. John Winter, a grave and discreet man was his agent, and employer of 60 men upon that

design." *Voyages to N. E.*, 25, 26. Winthrop (i. 124) mentions the coming of seventeen fishing ships to Richman's Island and the Isles of Shoals, in the winter of 1633-4.

¹⁸⁵ June 21, 1641, Lechford drafted a "commission to John Webbe als [Evered] of Boston and his company to trade and doe their bufineffe at the Isle of Sables, and to passe in the barke Endeavor of Salem, whereof is master Joseph Grafton." *Ms. Journal*, 224. "This summer [1641] the merchants of Boston set out a vessel again to the Isle of Sable, with 12 men, to stay there a year. They sent again in the 8th month, and in three weeks the vessel returned" with 400 pair of sea-horfe teeth, worth £300. *Winthrop*, ii. 34, 35. Earlier expeditions, in 1635, 1637, and 1638-9, had been less successful. *Ibid.*, i. 162, 237, 305.

Vineyard,¹⁸⁶ uninhabited by any English, but Indians, which are very savage.

46

French and
Dutch.

Northward from the *Bay*, or Northeast, lyeth the *French* plantation, who take up bever there, and keepe strict government, boarding all vessels that come neare them, and binding the masters till the governour, who is a Noble-man,¹⁸⁷ know what they are; and fouth of *New-England* the *Dutch* take up the bever.

Josselyn mentions "the *Amphibious* creature, the *Walrus*, *Mors*, or *Sea-Horse*,"—"a kind of monstrous-fish numerous about the Isle of *Sables*, i. e. The fandy Isle." *Voyages*, 10, 106.

¹⁸⁶ "The Isle of *Capawack*." *Bradford*, 97. "Those of the Isles of *Capawack*" sent to make friendship." *Ibid.*, 104. "The Isle *Capewak* . . . now called *Martin's Vineyard*." Morton's *Memorial* (1669), 26. Winthrop wrote "*Martin's Vineyard*," when noticing the beginning of a plantation there by "some of Watertown," in 1643 (ii. 151, 152). So, Thomas Mayhew himself, in 1650; Henry Whitefield ("*Martin's Vineyard*, . . . some call it *Martha's Vineyard*"), in 1651; and Hubbard, a generation later. But "*Martha's Vineyard*" was the name given by Gofnold, in 1602, to the small island now called No-man's Land (3 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.*, viii. 75, 76); and the "Islands of *Capawock* alias *Martha's Vineyard*" were, by that name, conveyed to Thomas Mayhew, Oct. 25,

1641. Hough's *Nantucket Papers*, 4. See 2 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.*, iv. 107, 118, 184; Belknap's *Amer. Biog.*, ii. 113; Davis's *Morton*, 58, 275. By Indians of the main land, the island was called *Nope*. 2 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.*, ii. 242.

¹⁸⁷ Charles d'Aulnay de Charnisé, governor of the division of Acadie which was west of the river St. Croix. After the death (in 1635) of Razilly, chief commander of French Acadie, D'Aulnay and the Sieur de La Tour (to whom had been assigned the government of the eastern division), quarrelled for the succession, the former holding fortified posts at Penobscot (whence he had expelled the Plymouth traders in 1635), at Port Royal (now Annapolis) and La Hève (now New Dublin), in Nova Scotia. La Tour had a fort at the mouth of the St. John. See *Winthrop*, i. 117, 166, 171, 206; ii. 42, 43, 107-14, &c.; *Hutchinson*, i. 127-135, 497-516; 3 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.*, vii. 90-121; and Palfrey's *Hist. of N. Eng.*, ii. 144-151.

Three hundred Leagues south from the *Bay* along the *Virginia*. coasts, lyeth *Virginia*; neare to that is *Maryland*, where *Maryland*. they are Roman Catholiques, they say.

There was a speech of some *Swedes* which came to *Swedes*. inhabit neere *Delawar Bay*, but the number or certainty I know not.

Three hundred leagues from the *Bay*, Eastward, lyeth *New-found-land*. *New-found-land*, where is a maine trade for fishing. Here we touched comming homeward.¹⁸⁸

Florida lyes betweene *Virginia* and the *Bay* of *Mexico*, *Florida*. and had been a better Country for the *English* to have planted in, according to the opinion of some, but it is so neere the *Spaniard*, that none must undertake to plant there, without good Forces.

For the state of the Country in the Bay and thereabouts. 47

THE Land is reasonable fruitfull, as I think; they have cattle, and goats, and swine good store, and some horses, store of fish and fowle, venison, and * corne, both *English* and *Indian*. They are indifferently well able to subsist for victuall. They are setting on the manufacture of linnen and cotton cloath,¹⁹⁰ and the fishing

State of the
Country of
New-England.

* Wheat and Barley are thought not to be so good as those grains in *England*; but the Rye and Pease are as good as the *English*; the Pease have no wormes at all. Beanes also there are very good.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ "There being no ship which was to return right for England, they went to Newfoundland, intending to get a passage from thence in the fishing fleet." *Winthrop*, ii. 31.

¹⁸⁹ This marginal note is not in the M.H.S. MS.

¹⁹⁰ The General Court, May, 1640, "taking into serious consideration the absolute necessity for the raising the

trade,¹⁹¹ and they are building of ships,¹⁹² and have good store of barks, catches, lighters, shallops, and other ves-

manufacture of linen cloth," made an order for the promotion of this branch of industry in the several towns, as also, "for the spinning and weaving of cotton wool." *Mafs. Rec.*, i. 294. At the October session, a bounty was granted of 3d. on the shilling on the value of all linen, woollen, and cotton cloth which should be made in the jurisdiction, of yarn spun or materials raised therein. *Ibid.*, 303. The next year, payment of this bounty was ordered to be made on 83½ yards of cloth, valued at a shilling per yard; but the people did not approve the action of the Court, and the order of the preceding year was, at the request of the deputies, repealed by the General Court, June, 1641. *Ibid.*, 316, 320. Connecticut, in February, 1641, ordered that hemp or flax should be planted by every family in the jurisdiction, that "we might, in time, have supply of linen cloth among ourselves." *Conn. Rec.*, i. 61, 64.

"Rowley, to their great commendation, exceeded all other towns," in the manufacture of cloth, as Winthrop (ii. 119, 120) records, under the year 1643. The settlers of that town were mostly from Yorkshire, and "were the first people that set upon making of cloth in this Western world, . . . many of them having been clothiers in England."—Johnson's *W.W. Providence*, b. ii. ch. 11.

¹⁹¹ See before, p. 45, note 182. "This year [1641] men followed the fishing so well, that there was about 300,000 dry fish sent to the market."—*Winthrop*, ii. 42.

In July, 1640, Lechford drew an agreement between Mr. Thomas Fowle of Boston and John Squire, Nicholas Squire, and Sampson Anger [Angier], all of Acomenticus, fishermen, for the purchase of as many "merchantable dry cod-fish" as they should take, cure, and deliver to him on board vessels at or near the Isle of Shoals, within twelve months thereafter; for which he was to pay fourteen shillings per kental.—*Ms. Journal*, 155.

"Some of the freemen and inhabitants of Hingham" petitioned the General Court in June, 1641, to be "instituted into a company" for establishing a fishing plantation at Nantasket, and for a grant to themselves, for that purpose, of "the said neck of land called Nantasket, from sea to sea, unto the head of Straits pond." *Ibid.*, 221. The court granted the land, and gave liberal encouragement to the enterprise; and, in 1644, the plantation, having become a town, with "twenty houses and a minister," was named Hull. *Mafs. Rec.*, i. 320, 326; *Winthrop*, ii. 175.

¹⁹² "The general fear of want of foreign commodities, now our money was

fels. They have builded and planted to admiration for the time. There are good mafts and timber for fhipping, planks, and boards, clap-board,¹⁹³ pipe-ftaves, bever, and furies, and hope of fome mines.¹⁹⁴ There are Beares, Wolves, and Foxes, and many other wilde beafts, as the Mooſe, a kind of Deere, as big as fome Oxen, and

gone, and that things were like to go well in England, fet us on work to provide fhipping of our own, for which end Mr. [Hugh] Peter, being a man of very public ſpirit and fingular activity for all occaſions, procured ſome to join for building a ſhip at Salem, of 300 tons, and the inhabitants of Boſton, ſtirred up by his example, fet upon the building another at Boſton, of 150 tons." *Winthrop*, ii. 24, under date of Feb. 2, 1641. Both ſhips were finiſhed in 1641. *Ibid*, 31. Mr. Peters and Emanuel Downing write from Salem, Jan. 13, 1641, that there were "two or three ſhips building" there. 4 *Maſs. Hiſt. Coll.*, vi. 90. The next year (1642), "five ſhips more were built, three at Boſton, one at Dorcheſter, and one at Salem" (*Winthrop*, ii. 65); and in September, the author of "New England's Firſt Fruits" wrote (p. 22): "Beſides many boats, ſhallops, hoys, lighters, pinnares, we are in a way of building ſhips of an 100, 200, 300, 400 tons. Five of them are already at ſea, many more of them in hand at this preſent," &c.

¹⁹³ If it were not for the perſiſtent

omiffion in modern dictionaries of the primary meaning of this word, it would be unneceſſary to remark here, that it was applied to all ſmall boards (eſpecially to *paling* and *pipe-ftaves*) which were made by riving or *cleaving*, in diſtinction from *ſawed* boards. *Cloven* (A. Sax. *clough*) boards eaſily paſſed into "clo'-boards," "claw-boards," "clobboards," and "clap-boards." Joſſelyn wrote of the "cleaving of clawboard," and of oak wood "excellent for claw-board and pipe-ftaves." *Voy.*, 208; *N. E. Rav.*, 48. Wood diſtinguiſhes between oaks "more fit for *clapboard*, [and] others for *ſawne* board." *N. E. Proſpect*, pt. i. c. 5.

¹⁹⁴ Comp. Joſſelyn, *N. E. Rav.*, 92, 93; *Voyages*, 44; Wood's *N. E. Proſpect*, pt. i. c. 5. John Winthrop, Jr., failed for England in the ſame ſhip with Lechford, and, while abroad, formed a company for eſtabliſhing an iron-work in New England; returning, in 1643, with £1000 ſtock, and a number of workmen. See *Winthrop*, ii. 212, and Savage's note; *Maſs. Rec.*, i. 206, 327; ii. 61, 81, 125; 4 *Maſs. Hiſt. Coll.*, vi. 516, 517.

Lyons,¹⁹⁵ as I have heard. The Wolves and Foxes are a great annoyance. There are Rattle snakes, which sometimes doe some harme, not much; He that is stung with any of them, or bitten, he turnes of the colour of the Snake, all over his body, blew, white, and greene spotted; and swelling, dyes, unleffe he timely get some Snake-weed;¹⁹⁶ which if he eate, and rub on the wound, he may

¹⁹⁵ Everybody in New England had heard of these lions. "For beasts, there are some bears, and they say some lions also; for they have been seen at Cape Anne. . . . I have seen the skins of all these beasts since I came to this Plantation, excepting lions." Higginson's *N. E. Plantation* [in Young's *Chron. of Mass.*, 248]. Wood, too, heard "some affirme that they have seene a Lyon at Cape Anne," and says that some who were lost in the woods had "heard such terrible roarings, as . . . must eyther be *Devills* or *Lyons*. . . . Besides, Plimouth men have traded for Lyons skines for former times." *N. E. Prospect*, pt. i, ch. vi. Joffelyn was told, at Black Point, of "a young Lyon (not long before) kill'd at Piscataway by an Indian" (*Voyages*, 23); and there were some "yet living in the country," in 1663, or later, to affirm that a young lion had been shot by an Indian, not far from Cape Ann. *N. E. Rar.*, 21, 22.

The supposed lion may have been the cougar, or puma, sometimes called the American lion, or panther.

¹⁹⁶ "The Antidote to expell the poyson . . . is a root called snakeweed, which must be champed, the spittle swallowed, and the root applyed to the fore; this is present cure against that which would be present death without it: this weed is ranck poyson, if it be taken by any man that is not bitten. . . . Cowes have been bitten, but being cut in divers places, and this weede thrust into their flesh were cured." Wood's *N. E. Prospect*, pt. i, ch. xi. Higginson (*N. Eng. Plantation*) says, the "sting" of the rattlesnake will cause death "within a quarter of an hour after, except the party stung have about him some of the root of an herb called snake-weed to bite on, and then he shall receive no harm." Young's *Chron. of Mass.*, 255.

Cornuti (*Canadensium Plantarum*, &c. Paris, 1635), as cited by Prof. Tuckerman in his Introduction to Joffelyn's *N. E. Rarities*, mentions a root received *ex notha Anglia*, "known, it appears, by the name of *Serpentaria*, or, in the vernacular, *Snagroel*, — a sure remedy for the bite of a huge

haply recover, but feele it a long while in his bones and body. Money is wanting, by reason of the failing of passengers these two last yeares, in a manner. They want help to goe | forward, for their subsistence in regard of
cloathing: And great pity it would be, but men of estates
should help them forward. It may bee, I hope, a charitable worke. The price of their cattell, and other things
being fallen,¹⁹⁷ they are not at present able to make such
returns to *England*, as were to be wished for them: God
above direct and provide for them. There are multitudes
of godly men among them, and many poore ignorant
foules. Of late some thirty persons went in two small
Barks for the *Lords Isle of Providence*,¹⁹⁸ and for the

and most pernicious serpent." Prof. T. thinks this to be "one of the numerous varieties of *Nabalus albus* (L.) Hook., if not, as Pursh supposed, what is now the *var. Serpentaria*, Gray." *Trans. Amer. Antig. Soc.*, iv. 119. Joffelyn figures and describes the *Nabalus albus*, in *N. E. Rarities*, 76, but without allusion to its virtues.

Gov. Winthrop mentions (i. 62) that "he always carried about him . . . in summer time, snakeweed."

¹⁹⁷ See *Winthrop*, ii. 7, 18, 21, 24; *Mafs. Col. Rec.*, i. 304, 307; E. Winflow's letter from Plymouth, June, 1640, in 4 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.*, vi. 166. In the summer of 1641, "few coming to us, all foreign commodities grew scarce, and our own of no price. Corn

would buy nothing;" a cow worth £20 in 1640 might now be bought for £4 or £5: "so as no man could pay his debts, nor the merchants make return into England for their commodities." *Winthrop*, ii. 21, 31.

¹⁹⁸ Lechford left New England before the return of these barks, with their passengers (Sept. 3, 1641), made known the disastrous issue of this expedition, "which brought some to see their error, and acknowledge it in the open congregation, but others were hardened." *Winthrop*, ii. 33, 34. The provisions of the charter granted in 1630 to the Adventurers for the Plantations of the Islands of Providence, Henrietta, and the adjacent islands (the Bahamas), were very liberal, and

Maine thereabout, which is held to be a beter countrey and climate by some: For this being in about 46. degrees of northerne latitude, yet is very cold in winter, so that some are frozen to death, or lose their fingers or toes every yeere, sometimes by carelesnes, sometimes by accidents, and are lost in snowes, which there are very deepe sometimes, and lye long: Winter begins in October, and lasts till April.¹⁹⁹ Sixty leagues Northerly it is held not habitable, yet again in Summer it is exceeding hot. If shipping for conveyance were sent thither, they might spare divers hundreds of men for any good design.²⁰⁰ The jurisdiction of the *Bay Patent* reacheth from *Pascattaqua* Patent Northeast to *Plymouth* Patent Southward. And in my travailes there, I have seene the towns of *Newberry*, *Ipswich*, *Salem*, *Lynne*, *Boston*, *Charlestowne*, *Cambridge*, *Watertowne*, *Concord*, *Roxbury*, *Dorchester*, and *Braintree* in the *Bay Patent*, *New Taunton* in *Ply-*

the Company offered great encouragement to planters. "The great advantages supposed to be had in Virginia and the West Indies, &c., made this country to be disesteemed of many," wrote Winthrop, in 1640. John Humfrey, appointed by the Company in February, 1641, Governor of Providence Island, "labored much to draw men to join with him." But, before the emigrants from New England arrived at Providence, the island had been taken by the Spaniards;

who fired upon one of the vessels when coming into harbor, and within pistol-shot of the fort, and killing her commander, William Peirce, and Mr. Samuel Wakeman of Connecticut, a passenger. *Winthrop*, i. 332, ii. 33, 34; *Johnson, W. W. Providence*, b. 2, ch. 20.

¹⁹⁹ For "April," the M.H.S. MS. has "March."

²⁰⁰ The section ends here in the M.H.S. MS. The eleven lines which follow were subsequently added.

outh Patent, the Island *Aquedney*, and the two townes therein, | *Newport* and *Portsmouth*, and *New Providence* 49 within the *Bay of Narhiggansets*. This for the satisfaction of some that have reported I was no Travailer in *New-England*.

Concerning the Indians, or Natives.

They are of body tall, proper, and straight; they goe Of the *Indians*.
naked, saving about their middle, somewhat to cover shame. Seldome they are abroad in extremity of Winter, but keep in their *wigwams*, till necessity drives them forth; and then they wrap themselves in skins, or some of our English coorse cloth: and for the Winter they have boots, or a kind of laced tawed-leather stockins. They are naturally proud, and idle, given much to singing, dancing, and playes; they are governed by *Sachems*, Kings; and *Saggamores*, petie Lords;²⁰¹ by an absolute tyrannie. Their women are of comely feature, industrious, and doe most of the labour in planting, and carrying

²⁰¹ This distinction is not well founded. *Sachem* and *Sagamore* were two forms of the same word. — *sagkiman*, "he leads," "directs." Wood's vocabulary has, "*Sagamore*, a king. *Sachem*, idem." Dudley, in his letter to the Countess of Lincoln, writes, that "Chickatabott . . . least favoereth the English, of any *sagamore*

(for so are the kings with us called, as they are *sachims*, southwards)," &c. Young's *Chron. of Mass.*, 305. Capt. John Smith makes a similar distinction: "The *Massachusetts* call . . . their Kings *sachemes*. The *Pennobscots*, . . . *sagamos*." *Advert. for the Unexper.*, 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iii. 23. Comp. Josselyn's *Voyages*, 123.

of burdens; their husbands hold them in great slavery, yet never knowing other, it is the lesse grievous to them. They say, *Englishman* much foole, for spoiling good working creatures, meaning women: And when they see any of our *English* women sewing with their needles, or working coifes, or such things, they will cry out, *Lazie squacs!* but they are much the kinder to their wives, by the example of the *English*. Their children, they will not part with upon any terms, to be taught. They are
 50 of complexion swarthy and tawny; | their children are borne white, but they bedawbe them with oyle, and colours, presently. They have all black haire, that I saw.

In times of mourning, they paint their faces with black lead, black, all about the eye-brows, and part of their cheeks. In time of rejoycing, they paint red, with a kind of vermilion. They cut their haire of divers formes, according to their Nation or people, so that you may know a people by their cut; and ever they have a long lock on one side of their heads, and weare feathers of Peacocks, and such like, and red cloath, or ribbands at their locks; beads of *wampompacag* about their necks, and a girdle of the same, wrought with blew and white *wampom*, after the manner of chequer work, two fingers broad, about their loynes: Some of their chiefe men goe so, and pendants of *wampom*, and such toys in their ears. And their women, some of the chiefe, have faire bracelets, and

chaines of *wampom*. Men and women, of them, come confidently among the *English*. Since the *Pequid* war, they are kept in very good subjection, and held to strict points of Justice, so that the *English* may travail safely among them. But the *French* in the East, and the *Dutch* in the South, sell them guns, powder and shot.²⁰² They have *Powahes*, or Priests, which are Witches, and a kind of Chirurgions, but some of them, notwithstanding, are faine to be beholding to the *English* Chirurgions. They will have their times of *powaheing*, which they will, of late, have called Prayers, according to the *English* word. The | *Powah*²⁰³ labours himselve in his incantations, to

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²⁰² De Vries, in an account of the Indians of New Netherland, in 1640, says, "They have now obtained guns from our people [the Dutch]. He was a villain who first sold them to them, and showed them how to use them." *Voyages* (translated by Murphy), in 2 *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, iii. 95. Comp. Brodhead's *New York*, i. 308; *Records of Comm'rs of U. Col.* (Hazard, ii.) 19, 58. Bradford (*Hist. of Plymouth*, 238, 337) complains of the French trade in arms and ammunition; but, in another place, he distributes more impartially his censure of the "baseness of fundry unworthy persons, both *English*, *Dutch*, and *French*," who had supplied the Indians of these parts with "peeces, powder and shote" (pp. 235, 238-9).

²⁰³ *Powwâw*, as Roger Williams writes it. *Pautuan*, Eliot. This word is nearly related to, if not identical with, *taupowaw*, "a wife speaker;" pl. *taupowawog*, "their wife men, and old men (of which number their Priests are also)." R. Williams, *Key*, 57, 120. Wood (*N. E. Prospect*, pt. 2, c. xii.) gives an amusing account of the "pow-wows" and their doings. He admits "that, by God's permission, through the Devils helpe, their charms are of force to produce effects of wonderment," and says, "sometimes the Devill for requitall of their worship, recovers the partie [who is sick or lame] to nuzzle them up in their devillish Religion." Comp. R. Williams, *Key*, c. xxi.; Winflow's *Good News from N. E.* [2 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, ix. 92, 93].

extreame sweating and wearineffe, even to extasie. The *Powahes* cannot work their witchcrafts, if any of the *English* be by; neither can any of their incantations lay hold on, or doe any harme to the *English*, as I have been credibly informed. The *Powahe* is next the King, or *Sachem*, and commonly when he dyes, the *Powahe* marryes the *Squa Sachem*, that is, the queene. They have marriages among them; they have many wives; they say, they commit much filthineffe among themselves. But for every marriage, the *Saggamore* hath a fadome of *wampom*, which is about seven or eight shillings value. Some of them will diligently attend to any thing they can understand by any of our Religion, and are very willing to teach their language to any *English*. They live much the better, and peaceably, for the *English*; and themselves know it, or at least their *Sachems*, and *Saggamores* know fo much, for before they did nothing but spoile and destroy one another.²⁰⁴ They live in *Wigwams*, or houses made of mats like little hutts, the fire in the midst of the

²⁰⁴ "The Pagan world of Indians here will acknowledge our sitting down by them, hath prevented the danger either of their dissolution or servitude. For the Indians in these parts being by the hand of God swept away (many multitudes of them) by the plague, the manner of the Neighbor-Indians is either to destroy the

weaker Countreys, or to make them Tributary: which danger ready to fall upon their heads in these parts, the coming of the English hither prevented." Cotton's *Way of Congr. Churches cleared*, pt. i. p. 21. See also Higginson's *N. E. Plantation*, in Young's *Chron. of Mass.*, 257; Wood's *N. E. Proffett*, pt. i. ch. 9.

house. They cut downe a tree with axes and hatchets, bought of the *English*, *Dutch*, or *French*, & bring in the butt-end into the *wigwam*, upon the hearth, and so burne it by degrees. They live upon parched corne,²⁰⁵ (of late, they grinde at our *English* mills.) Venifon, Bevers, Otters, Oyfters, Clammes, Lobfters, and other fifh, Ground-nuts,²⁰⁶ Akornes, they boyle all together in a kettle. Their riches are their *wampom*, bolles, trayes, | kettles, and fpoones, bever, furies, and canoos. He is a *Sachem*, whose wife hath her cleane fpoons in a cheft, for fome chief *English* men, when they come on gueft wife to the *wigwam*. They lye upon a mat, with a ftone, or a piece of wood under their heads; they will give the beft entertainment they can make to any *English* comming amongft them. They will not tafte fweet things, nor alter their habit willingly; onely they are taken with tobacco, wine, and ftong waters; and I have feene fome of them in

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¹⁰⁵ "*Nôkchick*, parch'd meale . . . which they eate with a little water, hot or cold." R. Williams, *Key*, p. 11. (ch. ii.) "*Nocake* (as they call it) which is nothing but Indian corne parched in the hot afhes," and "afterwards beaten to powder." Wood, *N. E. Proſpect*, pt. 2, ch. vi.

²⁰⁶ "Earth-nuts, which are of divers kinds, — one bearing very beautiful flowers," (which Prof. Tuckerman identifies with the *Apios tubero-*

ſa, Moench.) Joſſelyn's *N. E. Rav.*, 47 (*Trans. A. A. Soc.*, iv. 180). — Brereton noted the "great flore of ground-nuts" to be found "in every iſland, and almoſt in every part of every iſland;" "forty together on a ſtring, ſome of them as big as hen's eggs; they grow not two inches under ground: the which nuts we found to be as good as potatoes." *Account of Gofnold's Voyage*, 3 *Maſs. Hiſt. Coll.*, viii. 89.

English, or *French* cloathes. Their ordinary weapons are bowes and arrowes, and long flaves, or halfe pykes, with pieces of fwords, daggers, or knives in the ends of them: They have Captaines, and are very good at a short mark, and nimble of foot to run away. Their manner of fighting is, most commonly, all in one fyle. They are many in number, and worship *Kitan*,²⁰⁷ their good

²⁰⁷ Comp. E. Winflow's *Good News from N. E.* (Young's *Chron. of the Pilgr. Fathers*, 326, 355): Wood's *N. E. Prospekt*, pt. ii. ch. 12. "The Massachusetts call their great God *Kicktan*, . . . and that we suppose their Devill, they call *Habamouk*. The Pennobscots, their God, *Tantum*." J. Smith's *Advert. for the Unexperienced*, ch. vi.

Higginson (in *N. E. Plantation*), wrote: "For their religion, they do worship two Gods, a good God and an evil God. The good God they call *Tantum*, and their evil God, whom they fear will do them hurt, they call *Squantum*." Robert Southey, transcribing this "very summary account" of the Indian faith, adds: "An equal degree of knowledge on the part of the Indians might have made them describe Mr. Higginson himself as a *Squantumite*." Southey's *Com.-Place Book*, 2d Ser., 656. The comment, though mischievous, is not wholly unjust. Had our early writers been more diligent students of the Indian language, they would have

discovered, probably, that *Tantum* and *Squantum* were names of the same "Great Spirit," or *Keihtan*,—to be worshipped as a beneficent, or propitiated as an angry, god. *Squantum*, or *misquantum*, signifies, "he is angry" [*lit.*, bloody-minded]. "If it be but an ordinary accident, a fall, &c., they will say, *God was angry* and did it. *Musquantummanit*, God is angry." R. Williams, *Key*, p. 115.

Manit, the word which is often translated "God," conveyed to the Indian no other or higher idea than that of something *extra-ordinary* and transcending former experience. Its literal signification is, "that which surpasses," "that which is *more than*," other persons or things with which it is compared. "At the apprehension of any Excellency in Men, Women, Birds, Beasts, Fish, &c. [they] cry out *Manittóo*, that is, it is a God;" and this "they say of every thing which they cannot comprehend." R. Williams, *Key*, 118, 105. The initial *m* represents the impersonal prefix, while *anit* is a regularly-formed verbal.

god, or *Hobbamocco*,²⁰⁸ their evil god; but more feare *Hobbamocco*, becaufe he doth them moſt harme. Some of their Kings names are *Canonicus*, *Mcantinomy*,²⁰⁹ *Owſhamequin*,²¹⁰ *Cuſhamequin*,²¹¹ *Webbacowitts*, and *Squa Sachem*,²¹² his wife: She is the Queene, and he is *Powahe*,

From *keihite*, 'great,' 'chief,' and *anit*, is formed *keihtannit*, "great ſuperior being" [which Eliot uſed in tranſlating Genefis xxiv. 7, "the LORD God," *Jehovah Keihtannit*.] Of this word, *Kiehtan*, *Kitan*, &c., were contract forms, or equivalents. Comp. the Narraganſet *Kautántowit*, "the great South-weſt God" (R. Williams, *Key*, 116); the Delaware *Getaunítowit* (Heckew.); and the Old Algonkin *kitchi maníto* (Lahontan).

²⁰⁸ "*Hobbamock*, as they call the Devil." *Winthrop*, i. 254. "*Abamoch* (the Devill) whom they much feare." Wood's *N. E. Proſpect*, pt. 2, ch. viii. "*Abamoch* or *Cheepie*." Joffelyn's *Voyages*, 132.

²⁰⁹ *Caunónicus*, and his nephew, *Miantunnónnu*, ſachems of the Narraganſetts.

²¹⁰ *Ouſamequin*, *Oſomeagen*, *Oſamekin*, *Aſuamequin*, &c., as the name is variously written; the great ſachem of the Wampanoags, — better known as *Maſſaſoit*. His principal reſidence was at Sowams, now Warren, R. I. See Dexter's *Mourt's Relation*, 91, 94, 98, &c.; *Bradford*, 94, 102, &c.

²¹¹ *Cutſhamakin* was the nominal chief of the few remaining Indians of

Neponſet. Chickataubut, who lived "upon the river of Naponſet, near to the Maſſachuſetts Fields," (in Quincy,) was "the greateſt ſagamore in the country" (as Wood was told,) before the plague of 1616–18 ſwept over this part of New England. In 1631, he had only between fifty and ſixty ſubjects; and many of theſe, with the ſachem himſelf, died of ſmall-pox in 1633. "Joſias, Chickatabot his heir" was not then of age, and Cutſhamakin, who is ſaid to have been a brother of Chickataubut, and who had been a humble hanger-on of the Engliſh from their firſt coming, ſucceeded for a time to the titular honor of ſachem of Maſſachuſetts, and to the right of ſigning deeds and conveyances of lands once occupied by the tribe. *Winthrop*, i. 48, 116, 192, 195, &c., ii. 153; Wood's *N. E. Proſpect*, pt. 1, c. x.; Dudley's *Letter*, in Young's *Chron. of Maſs.*, 305; *Hiſt. of Dorcheſter*, 10, 11, 47; Gookin, 1 *Maſs. Hiſt. Coll.*, i. 169.

²¹² "*Webcowites*, and the Squa Sachem of Miſticke, wife of the ſaid Webcowites." Lechford's *Ms. Journal*, 143. "Squa Sachem & *Webba Cowet*." *Maſs. Rec.*, i. 201. The Squa Sachem had been the wife of

and King, in right of his wife. Among some of these Nations, their policie is to have two Kings at a time; but, I thinke, of one family; the one aged for counsell, the other younger for action. Their Kings succeed by inheritance.

M. Dunster a
hopefull School-
master.

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Master *Henry Dunster*, Schoolmaster of *Cambridge*, deserves commendations above many; he | hath the plat-forme and way of conversion of the Natives, indifferent right, and much studies the same, wherein yet he wants not opposition, as some other also have met with: He will, without doubt, prove an instrument of much good in the Countrey, being a good Scholar, and having skil in the Tongues; He will make it good, that the way to instruct the *Indians*, must be in their *owne* language, not *English*; ²¹³ and that their language may be perfected. ²¹⁴

Nanepahemite, the great sagamore of the Pawtucket Indians (north and east of Charles River), who was killed by the Tarratines in 1619. His sons, Wonohaquaham, or Sagamore John, of Millick, "the chiefeſt Sachim in these parts, at our first coming hither" (Cotton's *Way cleared*, i. 80), and Montowomplate, or Sagamore James, of Saugus, with most of their people, died of small-pox in Dec., 1633. The widow married Webbacowit before 1635. One of her places of residence is supposed to have been in what is now West Cambridge. In 1644, she,

with other petty sachems, made a formal submission to the government of Massachusetts. See *Winthrop*, i. 119; Dexter's *Mourt's Relation*, 126-28; Brooks's *Medford*, 73, 74; Young's *Chron. of Mass.*, 306, 307; Frothingham's *Hist. of Charlestown*, 32-36.

²¹³ See Mr. Dunster's letter to Dr. Ravis, in 4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, i. 251-54. He writes: "We do not trouble the Indians to learn our English, but onely such as for their owne behoof doe it of their owne accord."

²¹⁴ Near the end of this paragraph, Lechford, in his earlier draft, had in-

A Note of some late occurrences touching Episcopacie.

SOME of the learnedst, and godliest in the Bay, begin to understand Governments; that it is necessary, when Ministers or People fall out, to fend other Ministers,

Some late occurrences concerning Episcopacie.

ferted: "Mrs Glover did worthily and wifely to marry him." *M.H.S. MS.*

Mrs. Elizabeth Glover, who married Mr. Dunster in June, 1641, was the widow of Rev. Josse Glover, rector of Sutton, co. Surrey, from 1628, or earlier, till December, 1634, when he was suspended for refusing to read the book of sports. He was "much beloved of most, if not of all, and his departure lamented by most, if not of all," his people, as the parish register affirms. (His successor was inducted June 10, 1636.) He is afterwards described as "of London"; but his residence there must have been brief, for he sailed for New England in 1638, with the intention of establishing a printing press here, having made a contract, June 7, 1638, with Stephen Day of Cambridge to come over for that purpose.

Mr. Glover died on the passage. His will, which was probably executed before sailing, names the Rev. John Harris, D.D., Warden of Winchester College, and Richard Davys, merchant, of London, his executors. He left two sons, *Roger* and *John* (H. C., 1650), and three daughters, *Elizabeth*

(who married Adam Winthrop), *Sarah* (who married Deane Winthrop), and *Priscilla* (who married John Appleton). There may have been other children whose names do not appear. Of these five, Roger, Elizabeth, and Sarah, were by a former wife, Sarah, (daughter of Roger Owfield of London,) who died at Sutton, July 10, 1628, aged 30 years, while her husband was rector there. Her epitaph, with the names of her children, may be seen in Manning & Bray's *Hist. of Surrey*, ii. 483.

Mr. Glover's name frequently occurs in Lechford's *Ms. Journal*, variously written *Jwas*, *Jess*, and *Jesse* Glover. On his wife's monument, and in the extract from the parish register of Sutton, it is *Joseph*; and elsewhere it appears as *Jesse*. *Winthrop*, i. 289; Manning & Bray's *Hist. Sur.*, ii. 487; Lechford's *Ms. Journal*; *Calendar of (Brit.) St. Papers, Dom. Ser.*, 1634-5, p. 355; Savage's *Geneal. Dict.*; Thomas's *Hist. of Printing*, i. 222-26, 458-66. From Mr. Dunster's statement of account with the estate (printed by Thomas, from the County Court Records), it appears that his

or they voluntarily to goe among them, to seek by all good wayes and meanes to appease them.²¹⁵

And particularly, Master *Peter* went from *Salem* on foot to *New Dover*, alias *Pascattaqua*, alias *Northam*, to appease the difference betweene Master *Larkham* and Master *K.* when they had been up in Armes this last Winter time.²¹⁶ He went by the fending of the *Governour*, *Counsell*, and *Affislants* of the *Bay*, and of the Church of *Salem*; and was in much danger of being lost, returning, by losing his way in the woods, and some with him, but God be bleffed they returned.

wife died "two years and two months after her marriage" with him, — that is, about August, 1643.

²¹⁵ "Who giving advice according to the Word, doe by the blessings of Christ heale jealousies, and compose differences, and settle peace and love amongst them." Cotton, *Way of the Churches*, 106.

"When a Congregation wanteth agreement and peace amongst themselves, it is then a way of God (according to the patterne, Acts 15. 2.) to consult with some other Church, or Churches, either by themselves or their messengers met in a Synod. But then they fend not to them for power to administer any ordinance amongst themselves, but for light to satisfie dissenters, and so to remove the stumbling-block of the suspicion of mal-administration of their power, out of

the way." Cotton, *Way cleared*, pt. i. pp. 94-5.

²¹⁶ See before, page 44, and *Winthrop*, ii. 28, 29. Hugh Peters's mission to Piscataqua had less to do with "episcopacie" than Lechford supposed. "A good part of the inhabitants there" desired to come under the government of Massachusetts; and this, as Winthrop believed, was the real cause of the "eager prosecution of Capt. Underhill" and his friends. It was on the petition of Underhill and the Massachusetts party, for aid, that the governor and council gave commission, early in 1641, to "Mr. Bradstreet, one of our magistrates, Mr. Peter and Mr. Dalton, two of our Elders, to go thither and to endeavor to reconcile them, and if they could not effect that, then to inquire how things stood, and to certify

Againe he went a second time, for appeasing | the 54
same difference, and had a Commission to divers Gentle-
men, master *Humphrey*, master *Bradstreet*, Captaine
Wiggon, and master *Simons*, to assist, and to heare and
determine all causes civill and criminall, from the *Gover-*
nour of the Bay, under his hand,²¹⁷ and the publique
seale, and then master *K.* went by the worst.

Master *Wilson* did lately ride to *Greens harbour*,²¹⁸ in
Plymouth Patent, to appease a broyle betweene one mas-
ter *Thomas*, as I take it, his name is, and master *Blind-*
man,²¹⁹ where master *Blindman* went by the worst, and

us, etc." (*Winthrop*, ii. 28.) Mr. Peters, in a letter to Winthrop (with-
out date, but which appears to have
been written in the spring of 1641),
makes brief report of his mission :
"They there are ripe for our Govern-
ment as will appear by the note I
have sent you. They grone for Gou-
ernment and Gospell all over that side
on the Country. I conceive that 2
or 3 fit men sent over may doe much
good at this conflux of things . . . If
Mr. Larkham say and hold, hee hath
promised mee to close with us," &c.
4 *Mss. Hist. Coll.*, vi. 106-7. Not
long afterwards (June 14, 1641), the
proprietors of the Dover and Straw-
berry-Bank patents made a formal
surrender of their jurisdiction to Mas-
sachusetts ; "whereupon a commission
was granted to Mr. Bradstreet and

Mr. Simonds, with two or three of
Pascataquack, to call a court there
and assemble the people to take their
submission, etc., but Mr. Humphrey,
Mr. Peter and Mr. Dalton had been
sent before to understand the minds
of the people, to reconcile some dif-
ferences between them, and *to pre-*
pare them." *Winthrop*, ii. 38, 42 ;
comp. *Mss. Col. Rec.*, i. 324, 332.

²¹⁷ The original draft of this com-
mission, dated July 8th, is in Lech-
ford's Journal. It names as commis-
sioners, "John Humphrey Esq., Simon
Bradstreet gent., Thomas Wiggon
gent., and [Samuel] Symmons gent."

²¹⁸ See before, p. 41, note 137.

²¹⁹ Of the occasion of difference be-
tween Mr. Blinman and Mr. William
Thomas, I can learn nothing. The
fact of dissention and separation is

Captaine *Keayne* and others went with master *Wilfon* on horfeback.

Alfo at another time, master *Wilfon*, master *Mather*, and fome others, going to the ordination of master *Hooke* and master *Strcate*, to give them the right hand of fellow-ship, at *New Taunton*, there heard the difference betweene master *Hooke* and master *Doughty*, where master *Doughty* was overruled, and the matter carried fomewhat partially, as is reported.²²⁰

It may be, it will be faid, they did thefe things by way of love, and friendly advife: Grant that; But were not the counfelled bound to receive good counfell? If they would not receive it, was not the Magiftrate ready to

briefly mentioned in the Plymouth Church record (i. 36), for the following extract from which, I am indebted to my friend, the Rev. Henry M. Dexter, D.D.:—

“This church of Marshfield, above called Green’s Harbour, was begun, and afterwards carried on by the help and affiftance, under God, of Mr. Edward Winflow, who att the first procured feveral Welch Gentlemen of good note thither, with Mr. Blinman, a Godly able minifter, who unanimously joined together in holy fellow-ship, or at leaft were in a likely way thereunto, but fome difenfions fell amongst them, which caufed a parting not long after, and foe the hope of a Godly fociety as to them was fruf-

trated. Not long after thofe that went from Plymouth with that Godly gentleman Mr. William Thomas, keeping up a communion, it pleafed the Lord to fend unto them a faithful and able preacher of the Gofpel, namely Mr. Edward Buckley, who was chosen their paftor, and officiated in that place very profitably divers years,” &c.

Rev. Ebenezer Alden, Jr., in his *Sketch of the Church in Marshfield*, p. 3, fays: “In confequence of a want of harmony between the new and old fettlers, after a refidence of a few months, Mr. Blinman, with moft of his friends, removed to Gloucefter.” Comp. *Bradford*, 303-4; *Winth.*, ii. 64.

²²⁰ See before, p. 41, note 136.

assist, and in a manner ready, according to duty, to *enforce* peace and obedience? ²²¹ did not the Magistrates *assist*? and was not master K. sent away, or compounded with, to seek a new place at *Long Island*,²²² master *Doughty* forced to the Island *Aquedney*,²²³ and master *Blindman* to *Connecticut*? ²²⁴

²²¹ How Mr. Cotton would have answered these questions may be inferred from some remarks of his on the relation of the Church to the civil magistrate, in a Thursday lecture (preached early in 1640): "There is nothing more disproportionable to us, then for us to affect Supremacy, for us to weare the hornes that might push Kings; to throw downe any, or to desire magistrates to execute what we shall think fit, verily it is not compatible to the simplicity of the Church of Christ. Neither may they give their power to us, nor may we take it from them. . . . It is good to have these two States [the Church and the Magistracy] so joynted together, that the simplicity of the church may be maintained and upheld and strenghtened by the civil State according to God, but not by any simplicity further then according to the word. *Beware of all secular power*, and Lordly power, of such vast inspection of one church over another: Take heed of any such usurpation, it will amount to some monstrous Beast: Leave every church Independent, *not Independent from brotherly counsell*; God forbid

that we should refuse that; but when it comes to power, that one Church shall have power over the rest, then look for a Beast [the allusion is to Revel. xiii. 2], which the Lord would have all his people to abhor." — *Exposition upon 13th chap. of Revelation*, pp. 30, 31.

²²² See before, p. 43, note 167.

²²³ See before, pp. 40, 41, note 144.

²²⁴ See note 219, above. Mr. Blindman removed, with his friends, to Cape Ann. Nothing is known of his going to *Connecticut* after leaving Marshfield, before 1650, when he went from Gloucester to New London, where he preached for several years. Perhaps Lechford was misinformed as to the place of Mr. Blindman's new settlement; for, in a notice of Cape Ann (p. 45, ante), the coming of his company from Marshfield is not mentioned. Possibly, however, Mr. B. did, in the first instance, direct his course from Plymouth Colony to Connecticut or New Haven, "to seek a new place," which not finding to his mind, or failing to secure satisfactory accommodations for himself and people, he returned eastward.

55 *Questions to the Elders of Boston, delivered 9. Septemb.*
1640.

1. **W**Hether a people may gather themselves into a Church, without a Minister *sent* of God? ²²⁵
2. Whether any People, or Congregation, may *ordaine* their owne Officers?
3. Whether the Ordination, by the hands of such as are *not Ministers*, be good? ²²⁶

To the which I received an Answer the same day:

TO the first, the Answer is affirmative; for though the people in this Countrey are not wont to gather themselves into a Church, but (as you would have it) with the prefence and advice of fundry Ministers; yet it were lawfull for them to gather into a Church without them. For if it be the priviledge of every Church to choose their owne Ministers, then there may be a Church, before they have Ministers of their owne; for Ministers of another Church have no power but in their owne Church.

²²⁵ In a copy of these questions (in short-hand) in Lechford's Ms. Journal, the words "to approve thereof" are added at the end of the first question.

²²⁶ In the manuscript (short-hand), the third question reads as follows:

"Whether such as never had ordination or imposition of hands of the Presbyterie themselves, may warrantably impose hands upon any to the ministry? and if they do, whether it be good?"

To the second and third; The second and third *Questions* are coincident, and one Answer may serve for both: The Children of *Israel* did impose hands upon the *Levites*, *Num.* 8. 10. and if the people have power to elect their owne officers, they have power also to ordaine them; for Ordination is but an Installment of a man into that | office, whereto election giveth him right, neverthe- 56
lesse such a Church as hath a *Presbyterie*, ought to ordaine their Officers by a *Presbyterie*, according to 1 *Tim.* 4. 14.

This Answer was brought me by Master Oliver, one of the Elders, and Master Pierce, a Brother of Boston.

When I was to come away, one of the chiefeſt²²⁷ in the Country wiſhed me to deliver him a note of what things I miſliked in the Country, which I did, thus:

I doubt,

1. **W**Hether ſo much time ſhould be ſpent in the publique Ordinances, on the Sabbath day, becauſe that thereby ſome neceſſary duties of the Sabbath muſt needs be hindered, as viſitation of the ſick, and poore, and family.

2. Whether matters of offence ſhould be publickely handled, either before the whole Church, or ſtrangers.

²²⁷ This may have been the new whom Lechford appears to have governor, Richard Bellingham, with maintained very friendly intercourſe.

3. Whether so much time should be spent in particular catechizing those that are admitted to the communion of the Church, either men or women; or that they should make long speeches; or when they come publickly to be admitted, any should speak contradictorily, or in recommendation of any, unlesse before the Elders, upon just occasion.

57 4. Whether the censures of the Church should be ordered, in publick, before all the Church, or strangers, other then the denunciation of | the censures, and pronounciation of the solutions.

5. Whether any of our *Nation* that is not extremely ignorant or scandalous, should bee kept from the Communion, or his children from *Baptisme*.

6. That many thousands in this Countrey have forgotten the very principles of Religion, which they were daily taught in *England*, by set forms and Scriptures read, as the Psalmes, first and second Lesson, the ten Commandments, the Creeds, and publick catechizings. And although conceived Prayer²²⁸ be good and holy, and so publick explications and applications of the Word, and also necessary both in and out of season: yet for the most part

²²⁸ "In *conceived* prayer, the Spirit of God within us teacheth us what to pray. . . . But in *flinted* prayer, the matter is not suggested or ended to us by the Spirit of God within us,

but prescribed and imposed upon us by the will, wisdom and authority of men," &c. — Cotton's *Answer to Mr. Ball's Discourse*, &c., ch. ii. [*Hanbury*, ii. 159.]

it may be feared they dull, amaze, confound, discourage the weak and ignorant, (which are the most of men) when they are in ordinary performed too tediously, or with the neglect of the Word read, and other premeditated formes inculcated, and may tend to more ignorance and inconvenience, then many good men are aware of.

7. I doubt there hath been, and is much neglect of endeavours, to teach, civilize, and convert the *Indian Nation*, that are about the Plantations.

8. Whether by the received principles, it bee *possible* to teach, civilize, or convert them, or when they are converted, to maintain Gods worship among them.

9. That electorie courses will not long be safe here, either in Church or Common-wealth.

10. That the civill government is not so equally administered, nor can be, divers orders or by-laws considered. 58

11. That unlesse these things be wisely and in time prevented, many of your usefullest men will remove and scatter from you.

At *Boston* July 5. 1641.

Certain Quæres about Church government, planting Churches, and some other Experiments.

1. **W**Hether the people should cal the Minister, or the Minister ^a gather the people?

a Mat. 10. 1.

Mar. 3. 13.

Act. 1. 4. & 2. 47.

& 8. 5. 6. & 9. 32.

35. & 11. 19. 20.

21. 26.

b Acts 8. 14. &

9. 31. & 11. 22. 27.

& 13. 2. 3. & 14.

21. 10. 23.

c Col. 2. 5.

Act. 11. 27. &

15. 36. & 16. 4.

2. When a Church is gathered or planted; should they not have a care in ^b propagating other Churches, in other places next them.

3. Whether should not the first Church ^c visit the later Churches planted by them, to see they keepe the faith and order, as long as shee remains herselfe in purity of Doctrin and worship?

4. How shall a Church propagate, and visit other Churches? shall they do it by their members, ordinary Christians, or by their Ministers, ^d or Pastors? shall they ^e intend such propagation, or stay, till by their numbers increasng, they are necessitated to swarme, or are persecuted abroad?

d Acts 8. 5. 14.

& 11. 22. 27. &

13. 2. 3.

e Mat. 23. 19.

Acts 13. 1. 2. 3.

& 8. 1.

5. If by their Pastors, must not there bee more ^f Ministers then one in the first Church? how else can any be spared to goe abroad about such works upon occasion?

f Acts 1. 2. 3. 4.

& 2. 47. & 13. 1.

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6. When they have planted other Churches, | must not the ^g first Church take care for the providing of Elders or Ministers for these new planted Churches, and ^h ordain

g Act. 1. 25. 26.

h Act. 6. 6. & 14.

23.

them, and sometimes goe ⁱ or send some to teach them, ⁱ Aēt. 8. 14 & 11. 22.
and uphold the worship of God among them?

7. How can any preach, unlesse he be ^k sent? and how
can he be sent, unlesse by imposition of ^l hands of the ^l Aēt. 6. 6. & 13
Presbytery of the first Church? ^{3.} 1 Tim. 4. 14.

8. If so, hath not the first Church and the Ministers
thereof, Apostolical ^m power in these things?

9. But have all ⁿ Churches and Ministers this power?
are they able? have they learned men enough, to ^o water
where they have planted? If some should not be of the
^p *Quorum*, as it were, in ordinations, and the like, what ^m Eph. 4. 11.
order, peace, or unity can be expected? ^{Aēt. 1. 25. & 8.}
^{14. & 11. 22. 27.}
ⁿ Rom. 16. 1
^o 1 Cor. 3. 6.
^p 2 Tim. 1. 6.
1 Tim. 4. 14
compared.

10. Again, if all Churches and Ministers have this
power, equally, to exercise the work Apostolicall; must
they not all then goe, or send abroad, to convert the In-
dians, and plant Churches? and how can all be spared
abroad? Are all ^q Apostles? all Euangelists? where ^q 1 Cor. 12.
were the body, if so? ^{19. 29.}

11. Will they not interfere one upon another, and tref-
passe upon one anothers ^r line, rule, or portion, which blessed ^r 2 Cor. 10. 12
S. Paul condemned in those that entred into his labours? ^{to the end.}

12. When any other ^t Church, besides the ^t first, hath ^f Aēt. 13. 1. 2. 3
power and ability to propagate and bring forth other ^f Aēt. 1. 4 & 2
Churches, may she not doe well so to doe? must she not?
in her fitting line, observing peace, and holding commu-
nion with | the first, as long as they remain in purity ^{47.}

both of them? and if a second, why not a third, and a fourth, and so forth to a competent number?

13. Whether the first and other Churches also having power and ability thus to propagate the Gospell and plant Churches, may not be fitly called, prime, chief, or principall seats of the Church, or ^v chiefe Churches?

^v As *Hierusalem, Antioch, Ephesus*, *Acts* 11. 26.

14. Whether those Churches so gathered, in one Kingdom, Citie, or Principality, holding communion together, may not be fitly, in regard of their unity in Doctrine and worship, called the Church of such a Nation, or Province, ^u City, or Countrey?

^u *Acts* 11. 22.

15. Whether is it probable, that the first Church Christian, that wee reade of to be, at ^x *Hierusalem*, was onely one congregation, or but as many as could meete in one place? had they not among them twelve Apostles, besides Elders, three thousand, at once added, what ever number there was besides? and had they such a large Temple or meeting-houses at their command in those dayes?

^x *Acts* 1. 4. 15. 26. & 2. 41.

16. Whether the word *Church* bee not diversly taken in holy Scripture, and sometimes for a civill or uncivill assembly or congregation? ^y *Acts* 19. 40. *Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀπῆλθε τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*, and when he had thus spoken, he dismissed the assembly or Church?

^y *Act.* 19. 40.

Fitzherb. N.B.²²⁹

17. Whether anciently in *England*, some small assem

²²⁹ "For the word *Ecclesia* is always intended a parsonage." Fitzherbert's *Natura Brevium*, 32. "In a quare impedit præsentare ad Ecclesi-

blyes were not called Churches, as every | presentative 61
 Rectory or Parsonage is called *Ecclesia*, when others that
 were greater were not so called, as no Vicaridge, Dona-
 tive or Chappel is called *Ecclesia* in our Law?

18. Whether the Rector, or Parson that is a Presbyter
 in a Church, should, being alone, rule absolutely by him-
 selfe, without the concurrence, advise, or superiour power
 of the Evangelisticall ² Pastor of the Church, who had ² 1 Cor. 5. 3. 4
 care in the plantation or erection of the Parsons Church?

19. If not; should the Vicar, Donative, Minister or
 Chaplain?

20. But where they have used to rule more absolutely,
 (as in some peculiar jurisdictions in *England*) why may
 they not with the peace and unity of the Church, and by
 good advise, stil doe the same alway, with subordination
 to the Evangelisticall leaders, and fit Christian, and Na-
 tionall Synods?

21. If the Parson should not rule alone ordinarily, why
 should the principall leaders rule ordinarily alone without
 the advise and assistance of a competent number of their
 Presbyters, who may afford them counsell? Did not the
 holy Apostles advise with the Elders ^a sometimes? is it ^a Acts 15. 6.
 safe for them or the whole?

22. But were there any Bishops superintendent, over *Objection.*

am, it is a good plea to the writ that be intended a parish church." Lord
 it is but a Chapel; for *Ecclesia* shall Hale's Comment. in loco.

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other Bishops, or Presbyters, in the first hundred years after Christs birth? Did not Saint *James* write his Generall Epistle to the twelve | Tribes, which were then scattered abroad, no doubt, in many places, and therein mention for Rulers, onely ^b Elders? and S. *Peter* write his generall Epistle, and therein direct or command the ^c Elders not to over-rule the flock, the Lords inheritance? where was the Order of Bishops? had not the Elders the rule? might they not else have returned answer, that the command concerned not them, but a certaine Order of men, called Bishops, above us?

^b James 5. 14.^c 1 Pet. 5. 1, 2, 3.*Answer.*^d Acts 1. 20.^e 2 Cor. 11. 23.
& Chap. 10. 12.
to the end.

23. Were not the Apostles and Euangelists then living, ^d Bishops, and superintendent overseers? had they not the ^e care of all the Churches, in their lines? did not these holy Apostles, S. *James* and S. *Peter*, mention their owne names, in their Epistles? is it not plain, that *Peter* had over-sight upon those to whom he wrote, to see that they did not over-rule, and take account of them, if they did? And did the Lord ordaine there should be such a superintendencie, onely for an 80. years, and not some equall correspondent superspection also in after-ages, when those extraordinary men should cease? If some had then the care of all the Churches, should there not be some, in after-times, to have the care of some, to a competent number of Churches, in their fitting lines, and as they are ^f able? And though this Divine right be broken

^f 2 Cor. 8. 12.

through the many grosse corruptions of fuccessions, and the like, yet is it not equall to observe the first Institution, as neere as may be, as we say the equity of some Lawes and Statutes among us is sometimes to be observed, though | not in the Letter? And why may not a chiefe 63 Pastor be called a Bishop, as well as an Elder, or any other officer heretofore superiour?

24. If ^s Psalms, and Hymnes, and spirituall songs are g Eph. 5. 19.
1 Cor. 14. 26. 40. to be sung in the Church, and to sing melodiously, and with good harmony, is the gift of God, and uncomely singing a kind of sin in the holy Assemblies; why should not the chiefe leaders, and rulers of the Church, appoint some, in their stead, to take care of the singings of the Church? and may not some be fitter to lead in singing, then others? and lest they may fall out of their tunes to jarring, why may they not use the help of some musicall instruments? and lest they should want able men this way, why should they not take care, that some children be trained up in Musique?

25. Whether or no Christ did not allow of a ^h form of h Mat. 6. 9. Sic
ergo adorate vos
οὐτως. Prayer, and a short one too? will not the ⁱ strong allow Luke 11. 2
i Rom. 15. 1 the weak helps in Prayer? are not the best Christians often distracted in long Prayers? is it not easier for the strong to pray, then for as strong men to hear Prayer well? should those that are strong Proficients in grace not be satisfied, without all their weak brethren come to

k Rom. 12. 16.
Idipsum in in-
vicem sentientes;
non alta sapien-
tes, sed humili-
bus consentientes.
 ἰλλὰ τοῖς ταπει-
 νοῖς συναπαγό-
 μενοι, but conde-
 scending to the
 humble.

the same pitch of high sanctification with themselves? should they not rather^k condescend to the weaker? And although it be rare to tell of any actually converted by formes of Prayer, and Scriptures read; yet who can justly deny, but that much good hath been, is, and may for ever be done by such things that way, *Sicut ultimus iclus quercum non cædit, extrema arena clepsidram non exhaurit,* as the last stroak fells not the oake, nor the last sand exhausts the houre-glasse? ²³⁰

64

l Act. 10. 24, 44,
 47, 48. & 16. 30.
 31, 32, 33. vers.
 14, 15.
 m Act. 8. 3,
 12, 14.

26. Whether may not a man^l and his household, a woman and her household, a whole^m City, or Countrey, a King and his people, a whole Nation, be baptized, after they are competently instructed in the Religion of God.

n Act. 10.

o Act. 15.
 p Act. 8.
 q Act. 18.

27. Is it certain, that all that were baptized inⁿ *Corne- lius* his house, in the^o *Gaolers* house, in *Lydia's*, in^p *Sa- maria*, in^q *Corinth*, were such true beleivers, as now good men require all those that joyne with them, to be, before they will receive them to the Communion of their Church? Were not^r hypocrites admitted & baptized in the Primitive Church, by the Apostles and Evangelists themselves, being deceived by them? Were not children circumcised in the old Testament, and baptized all along in the times of the New, so received into the bosome of the Church?

r Act. 8. 13.
 Act. 2. 41. & 5. 1.
 compared.

²³⁰ "Quem admodum clepsidram hora, qua esse definimus, non sola non extremum stillicidium exhaurit, mortem facit, sed sola consummat." — Seneca, *Epist.* xxiv. 19.

28. Could, or can ever any Nation, probably, be brought into the obedience of the Gospel, poll by poll, in such manner as is imagined by the leaders of separations?

29. If it be possible, let them make experience, and try whether the *Indians*, or any other Heathen people, can be so converted before the Greek Kalends.

30. Whether there be any direct Scripture for the peoples choice of their chiefe Pastour? Can there, ordinarily, be a better election, then when the supream Magistrate (who hath, at most | times, the power of all the people, and sometimes their counsell in a regular way) joynes with a select and competent number and company of Presbyters in the same? 65

31. Whether any that have not skill, grace, and learning, to judge of the parties to be ordained, whether they be fit, and able to what they are to be ordained, may ^f or ^f 1 Tim. 5. 22 Titus 2. 2
daine them?

32. Whether or no to maintain a desired purity or perfection in the Magistracie, by election of the people, these good men of *New-England*, are not forced to be too strict in receiving the brethren, and to run a course tending to heathenisme?

33. Whether have not popular elections of chiefe Magistrates beene, and are they not very dangerous to States and Kindomes? Are there not some great mysteries of State and government? Is it possible, conve-

nient, or neceffary, for all men to attain to the knowledge of thofe mysteries, or to have the like meafure of knowledge, faith, mercifulneffe, wifdome, courage, magnanimity, patience? Whence are Kings denominated, but from their skill and knowledge to rule? whereto they are even born and educated, and by long experience, and faithfull Counfellors enabled, and the grace and bleffing of God upon all? Doe not the wife, good, ancient, and renowned Laws of *England* attribute much, yea, very much trust and confidence to the King, as to the head and fupreame Governour, though much be alfo in the reft of the great body, heart and hands, and feete, to counfell, maintain, and | preferve the whole, but efpecially the Head?

66

34. Hence what government for an Englifhman but an hereditary, fucceffive, *King*, ^v *the fon of Nobles*, well counfelled and affifted?

7^r Pro. 25. 3.
Ecclef. 8. 4 &
10. 16, 17.

35. Whether we the pofterity of the Church, and people of God, who now fee the tops of things onely, may fafely condemne the foundations, which we have not feen?

36. Whether is there not a difference between bare fpeculation, and knowledge joyned with found experience, and betweene the experience of Divines and people reforming from out of fome deepe corruptions in Churches called Chriftian, and the experience of thofe that have converfed in and about planting, and building Churches,

where there was none before, or among Heathens? what is art many times without experience?

37. Whether those Authors from *Hierome*,²³¹ to Arch-Bishop *Adamson*,²³² that alledge all Presbyters to be equall, and should alwayes have equall power and authority, had any great skill, or will, or experience, in the propagation of Churches among heathens, or barbarous Nations?

38. If not, whether their Testimony bee of that validity as is thought by some? If they had, whether they might not erre?

39. Whether messengers sent by Churches, or Minif-

²³¹ "Hæc propterea, ut ostendere-mus apud veteres eisdem fuisse presbyteros et episcopos. . . . Sicut ergo presbyteri sciunt se ex ecclesiæ consuetudine ei, qui sibi propositus fuerit esse subiectos, ita episcopi noverint se magis consuetudine quam dispositionis dominicæ veritate, presbyteris esse majores." Hieron. *Comment. in Tit.* i. 5 [cited, with other passages from Jerome's Commentaries and Epistles, in the Rev. Dr. Dexter's *Congregationalism*, pp. 94-96; where see a careful digest of authorities, from Clement of Rome to Dean Alford, affirming the original equality of all presbyters.]

²³² Patrick Adamson, titular Archbishop of Saint Andrew's, Scotland, 1575-92, who had been a vigorous

and uncompromising opponent of Presbyterianism, near the close of his life subscribed "certain articles allowing presbyterial discipline and condemning the government episcopal." "Whether he knew what was contained in them, or that he was induced thereto by a poor collection they gave him in the time (for so the report went), or otherwise, it is uncertain," says Bishop Spottiswood. *Hist. of the Church of Scotland* (ed. Ruffel), ii. 415; comp. Calderwood's *True History*, 96; and *Stephen*, i. 299. Some years after the Archbishop's death, these articles were printed, with the title of *The Recantation of Master Patrick Adamson, sometime Archbishop of S. Andrewes in Scotlande*. (n. p. 1598.)

67 ters taking upon them to go to gather or plant Churches, and to ordain, or give the right hand of fellowship to Ministers in those Churches, | and to appease differences in Church affairs, are not Episcopall acts? ²³³

40. Is Episcopacie, or a superintendencie necessary at *New-England*, and is it not necessary in more populous places? Are there not some, nay many depths and "mysteries in Gods holy Word, the Scriptures, and certain Catholique interpretations, which transgressed, the faith is hurt? Is it possible, convenient, or necessary for all men, nay all Ministers, to attain the knowledge of those mysteries, or to have the like measure of knowledge, faith, mercifulnesse, wisdom, patience, long suffering, courage, whereby to be enabled to rule in the Church of God, whereto they are educated, tryed, chosen, and ordained? and do not the sacred rules and Laws of God, of holy Church and of this Kingdome attribute much, yea very much trust and confidence to the chief Pastors, Leaders, and Rulers, the Fathers of the Church, especially to the Bishops of the prime and Metropolitall Churches, by the assistance of, and with, and under the supream Magistrate, the chiefe, the best cement of government, though much be also in other members of the great body, the Church, to counsell, maintaine and preserve the whole in the faith, soundnesse, peace and unity, especially the chief

" 1 Cor. 4. 1.
& 2. 10.

²³³ See before, pp. 53, 54.

leaders, when need requireth? Hence what government for Christians in chief, but by pious, learned, Provinciall and Diocefan Bishops, especially in *England* and *Ireland*?

By the just examination of the whole, those that are pious and learned, may easily gather, what good | reasons I had, and have, to returne, as now humbly I doe, to the Church of England, for whose peace, purity, and prosperity, is the daily prayer of one of her most unworthy sons, 68

Clements Inne,

Novemb. 16. 1641.

Thomas Lechford.

*To a friend.*²³⁴

Sir,

HERE is a good Land, and yeelding many good commodities, especially fish, and furs, corne, and other richer things, if well followed, and if that popular elections destroy us not. It is a good Land, I say, that instructs us to repentance, when we consider what a good Land we came from, what good lawes and government we have left, to make experiments of governing our selves here by new wayes, wherein (like young Physitians) of

²³⁴ A copy of this letter, in short-hand, without date or address, is in Lechford's Ms. Journal, pp. 164, 165.

In the margin are the words (also in short-hand), "This is written."

neceffity we muft hurt and fpoile one another a great while, before we come to fuch a fetled Common-wealth, or Church-government, as is in *England*.

69 I thank God, now I underftand by experience, that there is no fuch government for *Engliſh* men, or any Nation, as a Monarchy; nor for Chriftians, as by a lawfull Miniſterie, under godly Dioceſan Biſhops, deducing their ſtation and calling from Chriſt and his Apoſtles, in deſcent or ſucceſſion; a thing of greater conſequence then | ceremonies, (would to God I had known it ſooner) which while I have in my place ſtood for here theſe two years, and not agreeing to this new diſcipline, impoſſible to be executed, or long continued, what I have ſuffered, many here can tell; I am kept from the Sacrament, and all place of preferment in the Common-wealth, and forced to get my living by writing petty things, which ſcarce finds me bread; and therefore ſometimes I look to planting of corne, but have not yet here an houſe of my owne to put my head in, or any ſtock going: Whereupon I was determined to come back,²³⁵ but by the over-entreaty of ſome friends,²³⁶ I here think to ſtay a while longer, hoping that the Lord will ſhortly give a good iſſue to things both in our native Country, and *Scotland*, and here, as well as in all other his Majeſties dominions.

²³⁵ "To come back *into Ireland*."—*Ms. copy.*

²³⁶ "Of *my wife* and ſome other friends." — *Idem.*

I was very glad to see my Lord Bishop of *Exeters* Book;²³⁷ it gave me much satisfaction. If the people may make Ministers, or any Ministers make others without an Apostolicall²³⁸ Bishop, what confusion will there be? If the whole Church, or every congregation, as our good men think, have the power of the keyes, how many Bishops then shall we have? If every Parish or congregation be so free and independent, as they terme it, what unity can we expect?

Glad also was I to see Master *Balls* Book of the tryall of the grounds of Separation,²³⁹ both which are newly come over, and I hope will work much good among us here?

And whereas I was sometimes misled by those of opinion that Bishops,²⁴⁰ and Presbyters, & all Ministers, are of

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²³⁷ "For Episcopacie by divine right." *Idem.* Bishop Hall's *Episcopacie by Divine Right asserted*—a work undertaken at the request of Archbishop Laud, and remodelled in conformity with his suggestions—was published in 1640.

²³⁸ "Apostolicall or Evangelicall Bishop." — *Ms. copy.*

²³⁹ "A Friendly Trial of the Grounds tending to Separation: In a plain and modest Dispute touching the lawfulness of a Stinted Liturgy and Set Form of Prayer; Communion in Mixed Assemblies; and, the Primitive Subject, and First Receptacle, of

the Power of the Keys." &c. (1640, 4to, pp. 314.) See Hanbury's *Memoirs*, ii. 46, 47, 156–63. In 1642, Mr. Cotton published "A modest and clear Answer to Mr. Ball's Discourse of Set Forms of Prayer," &c. John Ball, whom Fuller pronounces "an excellent schoolman and schoolmaster, a painful preacher, and a profitable writer," was minister at Whitmore, near Newcastle, in Staffordshire. He died in 1640. *Worthies of England*, (ed. 1840) iii. 23; *Brook's Lives*, ii. 440.

²⁴⁰ "Bishops diocesan were not of divine right and that Bishops, and Presbyters," &c. — *Ms. copy.*

the same authority; When I came to consider the necessary propagation of the truth, and government of the Church, by experimentall foot-steps here, I quickly saw my error: For besides, if the congregations be not united under one Diocesan in fit compasse, they are in a confusion, notwithstanding all their classically pretensions, how can the Gospel be propagated to the Indians without an Apostolicall²⁴¹ Bishop? If any Church, or people, by the Kings leave, send forth Ministers to teach and instruct the poore Indians in the Christian Religion, they must have at least Apostolicall²⁴² power to ordain Ministers or Elders in every congregation among them; and when they have so done, they have power of Visitation where they plant: Nor can they without just cause²⁴³ be thrust out from government without great impiety; and where they have planted, that is their line or Diocese. Thus I came to see, that of necessity a Diocese, and Bishop Diocesan, is very neere, if not altogether²⁴⁴ of Divine authority.

I am also of opinion, that it were good for our Ministers to learne how to doe this work from some of our reverend Bishops in *England*, for I feare our Ministers

²⁴¹ "Apostolicall or Evangelicall Bishop." *Idem.* See before, pp. 59, 60, Queries 10-13.

²⁴² The Ms. copy has "*Evangelicall*" instead of "*Apostolicall*."

²⁴³ The words "*without just cause*" are not in the Ms. copy.

²⁴⁴ This qualifying clause, "very near, if not altogether," was inserted on revision.

know not how to goe about it. Whether must not some Ministers learne their language? It is a copious language, as I am informed, and they have as many words to expresse one thing as we have. And when they teach Indians to pray, will they not teach them | by a forme? 71
and how can Gods worship be maintained among ignorant persons without a forme? I am firme of opinion, that the best of us have been much beholding to the Word read, and formes of Prayer.

From Boston in N. E.

Iulii 28. 1640.

This Gentleman²⁴⁵ to whom I wrote, kindly returned me a wise answer, wherein is this passage :

TO speak in briebe, I think now that *New-England* is a perfect model and sampler of the state of us here at this time; for all is out of joynt both in Church and Common-wealth, and when it will be better, God knoweth: To him we must pray for the amendment of it, and that he will not lay on us the merits of our nationall and particular finnes, the true cause of all these evils.

Dated out of Somersethire,

Aprilis 27. 1641.

²⁴⁵ William Prynn? He was a native of Somersethire, and an old friend of Lechford's. See the Introduction.

It was rumored in the summer of 1641 that he had sent money to Lechford to pay his passage to England.

To another, thus: ²⁴⁶

72 IN a word or two, we heare of great disturbances in our
deare native Countrey; I am heartily forry, &c.²⁴⁷ I
beseech you take my briefe opinion; We here are quite
out of the way of right government both in Church
and Common-wealth, as I verily think, and as far as I
can judge upon better consideration, and some pains
taken | in searching after the bottome of some things.
Some electorie wayes tend to the overthrow of King-
domes: No such way for government of Englishmen, as
a Monarchie; of Christians, as by Diocefan Bishops ²⁴⁸
in their line: Better yeeld to many pressures in a Mon-
archie, then for subjects to destroy, and spoile one
another.²⁴⁹ If I were worthy to advise a word, I should

²⁴⁶ The draft of this letter (in short-hand) is in Lechford's Journal, p. 175, with this note (also in short-hand) added: "This letter was sent by Mr. K. to his father, Ralfe King, of Watford." It is not certain (nor, I think, probable) that it was *addressed* to Mr. King. It may have been sent to his care, to insure its safe transmission to the person to whom it was written. The day before its date, Lechford had drawn, for Thomas Talmadge and his brothers, a letter of attorney to Ralfe King, of Watford, co. Herts, woollen draper, to receive for them certain moneys in England.

In the MS. the letter begins as fol-

lows: "Right Worthy Sir. I sent you at my first landing here an unwise letter of which I [deserved ?] to receive no answer. I can not forget my respect toward you and your worthy and beloved family, my good lady, and all your dear and hopeful children, as in my [poor?] supplications I remember dayly. In a word," &c.

²⁴⁷ "I am heartily forry that I had *ever hand* in some of the *causes*." — *Ms.* [I think that I have not misread the cipher, though the characters are so imperfectly formed that I am not certain of the words italicized.]

²⁴⁸ "Or Evangelists." — *Ms.*

²⁴⁹ "As I fear we must do here

desire you to have a care, and so all your friends, you prejudice not your estate, or posterity, by too much opposing the Regall power: For I verily beleieve the Kings Majesty hath in generall a good cause touching Episcopacie:²⁵⁰ My reasons I could better deliver in presence, if haply God give opportunity to see you, or if you require it hereafter, I will be ready to present my thoughts unto you. All this, as I shall answer before the Lord, without any by-respects. If you were here, I presume you would see more then I can, but I think you would be much of my mind.²⁵¹

From Boston in N. E.

Septemb. 4. 1640.

To another of no meane rank.

Complaining of my sufferings, and shewing the reasons, desiring him to fend for me, that I might declare them to his person more effectually.

From Boston in N. E. March, 1640.

long before we come to any settledness either in Church or Commonwealth." *Ms.*, — but this was crossed out on revision.

²⁵⁰ For "touching Episcopacie," the *Ms.* reads, "against the Sectaries."

²⁵¹ After this comes, in the copy, a paragraph about matters of business. "I hear that you [required ?] that

201. I owed you, of Mr. Hill. God's will be done. I am not able to pay it yet, but shall be mindfull, God willing, to discharge it as soon as I can. I am thankfull, and desire to be yet more thankfull to you for the loan of it. If you hear any thing of me specially from Mr. *Hooke* or his wife, pray keep an ear for me, for we have

YOU knew my condition and employment, and how ill it went with me in *England*, by reason of the trouble of our friends, and my own danger therby. For my outward subsistence here, at this time, God knowes it is but meane; some say it is my owne fault, and that I stand in my owne light, and you, and others may so conceive; but the God of heaven is my witnesse, I have endeavoured in all things to keep a good conscience, though sometimes I have failed; I have endeavoured, laying all by-respects aside, to joyne with the Church here, but cannot yet be satisfied in divers particulars, whereby I am kept from all place of employment or preferment, as I have had overtures made unto me of, if I would or could yeeld, but hitherto I have not dared to doe it, for good reasons best knowne to our heavenly Witnesse. I must give you a taste.

They hold their Covenant constitutes their Church, and that implies, we that come to joyne with them, were not members of any true Church whence we came, and that I dare not professe. Againe, here is required such confessions, and professions, both in private and publique,

had some [*several words erased*]
I with you knew how I am used:
For this time thus I take my leave
heartily recommending your Worship

and all yours to the guidance and . . .
of his heavenly Majesty, resting yours
in all service to be commanded.

“THOMAS LECHFORD.”

both by men and women, before they be admitted, that three parts of the people of the Country remaine out of the Church, so that in short time most of the people will remaine unbaptized,²⁵² if this course hold, and is (we feare) of dangerous consequence, a thing not tending to the

²⁵² Robert Baylie, in *A Dissuasive from the Errours of the Time*, &c. (Lond. 1645), refers to this statement as his authority for the assertion that the fruits of the church-way of New England were, "first, the holding-out of all their Churches and Christian Congregation many thousands of People, who in former time have been reputed in *Old England* very good Christians." In the *Way of Congregational Churches Cleared* (the first Part of which was written in reply to Baylie's *Dissuasive*), Mr. Cotton examines Lechford's testimony: "The Book is unfitly called plaine dealing, which (in respect of many passages in it) might rather be called false and fraudulent. I forbear to speak of the man himself, because soon after the publishing of that Book, himself was called away out of the world to give account [&c.]. . . That which he testifieth, neither is it true; neither if it were, doeth it reach Mr. Baylie's assertion. It is not true, that three parts of the Countrey remaine out of the Church, if he meane three parts of foure, no, though hee should take in those remote *English*, who live a score of miles or more from any Church." Pt. i. pp. 71, 72.

Right or wrong as to the *proportion* of non-members, Lechford was not the first to complain of the strictness in admission to church privileges and of the virtual exclusion thereby of a considerable, if not the greater, part of the people. Mr. Stansby, minister of Little Waldingfield, co. Suffolk, in a letter to the Rev. John Wilfon, dated April 17, 1637, mentions as matter of grief, "that you [of Massachusetts] are so strict in admission of members to your church, that more then one halfe are out of your church in all your congregations, & that Mr. Hoker [Thomas Hooker] before he went away preached against yt (as one reports who hard him) (& he saith) Now although I knowe all must not be admytted, yet this may do much hurt," &c. "There is now," he adds, "so much talke of yt, & such certeyne truth of yt, & I know many of worth, for outward estate & ability, for wisdom & grace, are much danted from coming." 4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vii. 11. Comp. Hooker, *Survey*, pt. 3, p. 6, — cited in note 12, p. 7, ante.

See, also, W. Rathband's *Brieffe Narration of some Church Courses in New England*, (London, 1644) pp. 9, 10.

74 propagation of the Gospel in peace: Which, though it have a colour of sanctimony and strictnesse, whereby many well-affected or affectionate people, but weak in sound experience and judgement, are the rather drawn thereunto, and they are in a manner necessitated to it, to maintaine their election of Magistrates and Ministers in their owne way of popular or Aristocraticall government; I dare not (for my part) yeeld unto neither in my own conscience, nor for the credit of those persons with whom I have been educated, and in whose causes I have been seen. A Monarchy is the best government for Englishmen; better to suffer some pressures under that kind of government, then to spoile one another with popular elections. Again, I cannot yeeld to Lay-Elders, nor that Lay-men should impose hands upon any to the Ministerie, nor that any Minister should renounce his calling to the Ministerie which he received in *England*, as Antichristian: It is a grosse error, and palpable schisme; then our Baptisme is not right, and so there will be no end of separations. Also I beleieve there cannot be a Church, without a true Minister; nor can any gather themselves together into a Church without a true Minister; nor can they ordain their own Ministers; ordinarily, I meane; what may be done in an extraordinary case, *pro prima vice*, is another question; I hold there ought to be an Apostolicall Bishop, by succes-

fion from Chrift and his Apostles, superiour in order or degree to his brethren; which Bishop ought to ordain, and | rule with other Presbyters, or alone, but Presbyters cannot without him. And if so be any thing in word or act passed from mee to the contrary hereof, I do professe it was in my ignorance. Their calling is of Divine authority, or nearest thereunto, else the Church of God could not have subsisted in any tolerable way of peace, through all this by-past time of 1600. yeeres. I feare they know not what they say, that say the contrary: let them come here, they will quickly change their minde, if they study the point, and follow it home; for, besides the keeping of peace and unity, and a pure and able learned Ministry, how can the Gospell be propagated without some speciall Ministers, having the power Apostolicall, to goe forth to convert *Indians* or *Pagans*?²⁵³ If a Pastor, or Minister, or Christian, of any Church shall doe so, what hath he to doe with Infidels? as hee is a Pastor, he is no Pastor to them. Therefore if any are sent to convert, and establish Churches among Infidels, such as are sent are Apostolick Messengers, Bishops or Ministers to them, and ought to be sent with fasting and Prayer, and by imposition of hands of the Presbytery, and having converted Infidels, may plant Churches, and ordain Ministers among them, and afterwards visit them; and is not this

²⁵³ See before, pp. 21, 70; and Cotton's *Way Cleared*, pt. i. pp. 78, 79.

Episcopacie, and their line wherein they have gone their Dioceffe? Thefe things naturally flow from, and are grounded in the Word, or equity thereof, and meere neceffity. Now if all Minifters fhould ordinarily have
 76 this authority, to go forth to thefe works, | without mif-
 fion, what quarelling there would be for divifion of Lines or Diocefes, let the experience of former ages tell, yea of the Apoftolique times, wherein were not wanting thofe that quarelled with Saint *Paul* himfelfe, about his Line or rule, 2 *Cor.* 10. Now unto this confufion, tends the opinion, that faith, a Bifhop and Presbyter is all one and equall; it is of *Acrius*,²⁵⁴ it is falfe, and it is confufion. The reformed Churches and Writers that held fo, had little experience of miffion to convert & and plant Churches among Infidels. That reformation goes too deep that tends to pulling downe of Cathedrall Churches, and Bifhops houfes: Should not Apoftolick Bifhops, and the chiefeft Minifters have houfes to dwell in, and Churches

²⁵⁴ For *Acrius*,—the name of a prefbyter of Sebafte, in Lefler Armenia, about the middle of the fourth century, who was the founder of a confiderable feét called Aerians. He taught that no difference ought to be recognized between a bifhop and a presbyter. He alfo condemned prayers for the dead, ftated fafts, and the celebration of Eaſter.—*Mosheim's Eccl. Hiſt.*, bk. ii. pt. 2, ch. 3; Auguſtine, *De Hæ-*

refibus, c. liii.; Epiphanius, *Hæreſis* 75 (ed. *Patauri*, pp. 905–912.)

Bifhop Hall, in *Epifcopacie by Divine Right afferted*, which Lechford had recently been reading (ſee before, p. 69), mentions that “branded heretic Aerius,” as “the only founder and abettor . . . in all the world of hiftory and record,” of the opinions held by the diſparagers of epifcopacy.—*Works* (ed. Wynter), ix. 246.

to recide and officiate in, whither all the Churches of their Line may fend and come together in Councel, or Synod, and so do nothing of great moment without their Bishop, a *Timothy*, or a *Titus*? Again, Baptisme is admission and initiation into the Church; to whom Baptisme is committed, *viz.* Apostles and Apostolick Ministers, they have power of admission, that is, of loosing, and consequently of binding, excommunication or expulsion. Where is now the peoples power in the keyes? are they all Apostles, and Apostolick Ministers? what confusion is this? who can yeeld to it knowingly? I beseech you pardon my zeale, and when you have considered all, pity my condition, and pray for me still. Well I am assured, that master *Prynne*²⁵⁵ & master *Burton* would never yeeld to these things, especially, | if they had experience of them. It is good for us to see our errors, and acknowledge them, that we may obtain peace in the day of account.

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Boston, 13. Oct. 1640.

To another.

SORRY and grieved we are at the heart, to heare of the troublous estate and condition of our native country; wee here also meete with our troubles and distresses

²⁵⁵ Respecting Lechford's relations with William Prynne and his fellow-sufferers, Baitwick and Burton, see the Introduction to this edition.

in outward things, and some in spirituall matters also. Here wants a staple commodity to maintain cloathing to the Colony. And for my own particular, hitherto I have beene much distressed here by reason I cannot yet so clearly understand the Church proceedings, as to yeeld to them, there are therein so many difficult considerations, that they have sometimes bred great confusion in my thoughts. Never since I saw you have I received the Sacrament of the Lords Supper. I have disputed in writing, though to my great hinderance, in regard of outward things, yet blessed be the Lord, to my better satisfaction at the last. I never intended openly to oppose the godly here in any thing I thought they mistooke, but I was lately taken at advantage, and brought before the Magistrates, before whom, giving a quiet and peaceable answer, I was dismissed with favour, and respect promised me by some of the chiefe for the future.²⁵⁶ Our chiefe difference was about the foundation of the Church and

²⁵⁶ "I am summoned to appear in Court to-morrow, being the 1st of 10th, 1640. The Lord God direct me, &c."—*Short-hand note* in Lechford's *Journal*, p. 176.

"A Quarter Court held at Boston the First Day of the 10th Mo. 1640. . . . Mr. Thomas Lechford, acknowledging hee had overshot himselfe, & is sorry for it, promising to attend his calling, & not to meddle with contro-

versies, was dismissed."—*Mss. Col. Rec.*, i. 310.

Hon. James Boydoin, introducing, in his Note to the Historical Society's reprint of *Plaine dealing*, this extract from the Records, remarked: "No allusion has ever been made to the cause of [this decree]; but it seems to have been considered as referring to the first [of Sept. 3, 1639, by which Lechford was debarred from plead-

Ministry, and what rigid separations | may tend unto, 78
 what is to be feared, in case the most of the people here
 should remaine unbaptized; considerations which may
 trouble the wisest among us. Rigid separations never
 did, nor can propagate the Gospell of Christ, they can do
 no good, they have done hurt. It is dangerous to found
 Church government on dark & uncertain interpretations
 of Propheticall, or other Scriptures; foundations ought
 to be full of evidence, & demonstration. Blessed be the

ing]. The language, however, leads me to a different conclusion; but to what it does refer, I know not."—
 3 *Mss. Hist. Coll.*, iii. 400.

Lechford's *Journal* contains the draft (in short-hand) of his "quiet and peaceable answer." He states that he appeared before the Court in obedience to a warrant sent forth against him, on an information by the Grand Jury, in September; but "since that time (he says) the General Court [of October 7th] was pleased to say something to me, when they brake up, as for good counsel to me, about some tenents and disputations which I have held; advising me to bear myself in silence and as became me. . . . According to that advice I have been hitherto, and shall, God willing, be ready to carry myself for hereafter. . . . I desire not to trouble your Worships with long speech, to divert or hinder your other occasions; [but, waiving all the forms of trial and proof of the

matters charged,] I desire your Worships to be pleased to accept of this my short acknowledgment that I have, I do confess, too far meddled in some matters of church government and the like which I am not sufficient to understand or declare; and although once I thought myself bound in conscience to say some of those things I have said, yet now I am ashamed of many of them."

It will be observed that the "short acknowledgment" is very adroitly framed. *What* things, formerly said, he is now ashamed of, or *what* matters of church government he had unadvisedly meddled with, he leaves the court to conjecture. In letters to his friends at home, he was more explicit. See before, pp. 74, 75.

Perhaps the offence for which he was called to answer may have had some connection with the questions he proposed "to the Elders of Boston," Sept. 9, 1640. See before, p. 55.

Lord, now some of the chiefe leaders of the Churches here hold the Churches in *England* true Churches, and your Ministry lawfull, though divers corruptions there may be among you;²⁵⁷ yea some there bee of the chiefe among us that conceive the government by godly Bishops superintendent over others to be lawfull.²⁵⁸ Churches are not perfect in this world. We may not for every disagreement in opinion, or for slender pretended corruptions, separate from the Church: separate so once, and no end of separation.

From Boston in N. E.

Decem. 19. 1640.

To conclude.

Suppose there are foure sorts of Government, which are used in Church, as in Common-wealth; Monarchicall absolute without Lawes, which is tyrannie;

²⁵⁷ Baylie (in *A Dissuasive from the Errours of the Time*, &c.) quoted a private letter in which Mr. Cotton had declared that it was "an error, to conceive that our Congregations in England are none of them particular reformed Churches." "I willingly acknowledge," wrote Mr. Cotton, in his reply to Baylie's book, "I did appear against that Error. But neither was I the first that did appear against it, (but divers godly English

Ministers before me :) neither have I fallen to the liking of the contrary opinion since. But the Dissuader is much deceived, if he take that Error to be the judgment of the Churches of New-England, howsoever some particular persons may lean that way." *Way cleared*, pt. i. p. 18.

Comp. Welde's *Answer to W. R. his Narration*, pp. 45, 46, and 24.

²⁵⁸ "Let no man think he [Lechford] was kept out of our Churches,

Monarchicall bounded by Lawes; Aristocraticall, and Democraticall: Episcopall absolute, which is Popish tyrannie; | Episcopall regulated by just Lawes; Presby- 79
terian, and Congregationall: Which of these will all men like, and how long? Some have well compared the humour of the people in this kind, to a merry relation of an old man and his sonne, passing through the streets of a City, with one horse betweene them: First, the old man rode, then the people found fault with his unkindnesse, in that he did not cause his son to ride with him: then the young man gets up too, now the people say they are both unmercifull to the beast: downe comes the old man, then the young man is unmannerly to ride, and his father walk on foot: at last downe goes the young man also, and leads the horse, then they were both unwise to lead the horse, and neither of them to ride. Well, but alter the inconstant vulgar will; if so, God grant it be for the better. But then consider stories, one alteration follows another; some have altered fixe times, before they were settled againe, and ever the people have paid for it both money and blood.

Concerning Church-government, what the Presbyterian way is, and how futable for *Englands* Monarchie, I leave

for maintaining the authority of Bishops. For we have in our Churches some well respected Brethren, who doe indifferently allow either Episcopall,

or Presbyteriall, or Congregationall Government, so be it they governe according to the rules of the Gospel." — Cotton, *Way cleared*, pt. i, p. 71.

to the pious experienced Divines to fet forth, and the Church and State thereof to judge.

And for the Congregationall independent government, whereof I have had some experience, give me leave instead of a better intelligencer thus to present to my deare
80 in these confused | papers: And in brief thus: Although it had some small colour in Scripture, and a great pretence of holiness, yet no sound ground in the Scripture; Again, if it be neither fit nor possible long to be continued in *New-England*, as not I alone, but many more eye and ear witnesses doe know, and the learned can and will judge undoubtedly, it must needs be much more unfit and impossible to be brought into *England*, or *Ireland*, or any other populous Nation.

All which upon the whole I humbly submit unto the sacred judgment and determination of holy Church, his royall Majesty, and his Highnesses great and honourable Councel, the high Court of PARLIAMENT.

Imprimatur,
Ioh: Hansley.

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I N D E X.

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